

ADDRESSES  
DELIVERED BEFORE  
THE CANADIAN CLUB  
OF MONTREAL

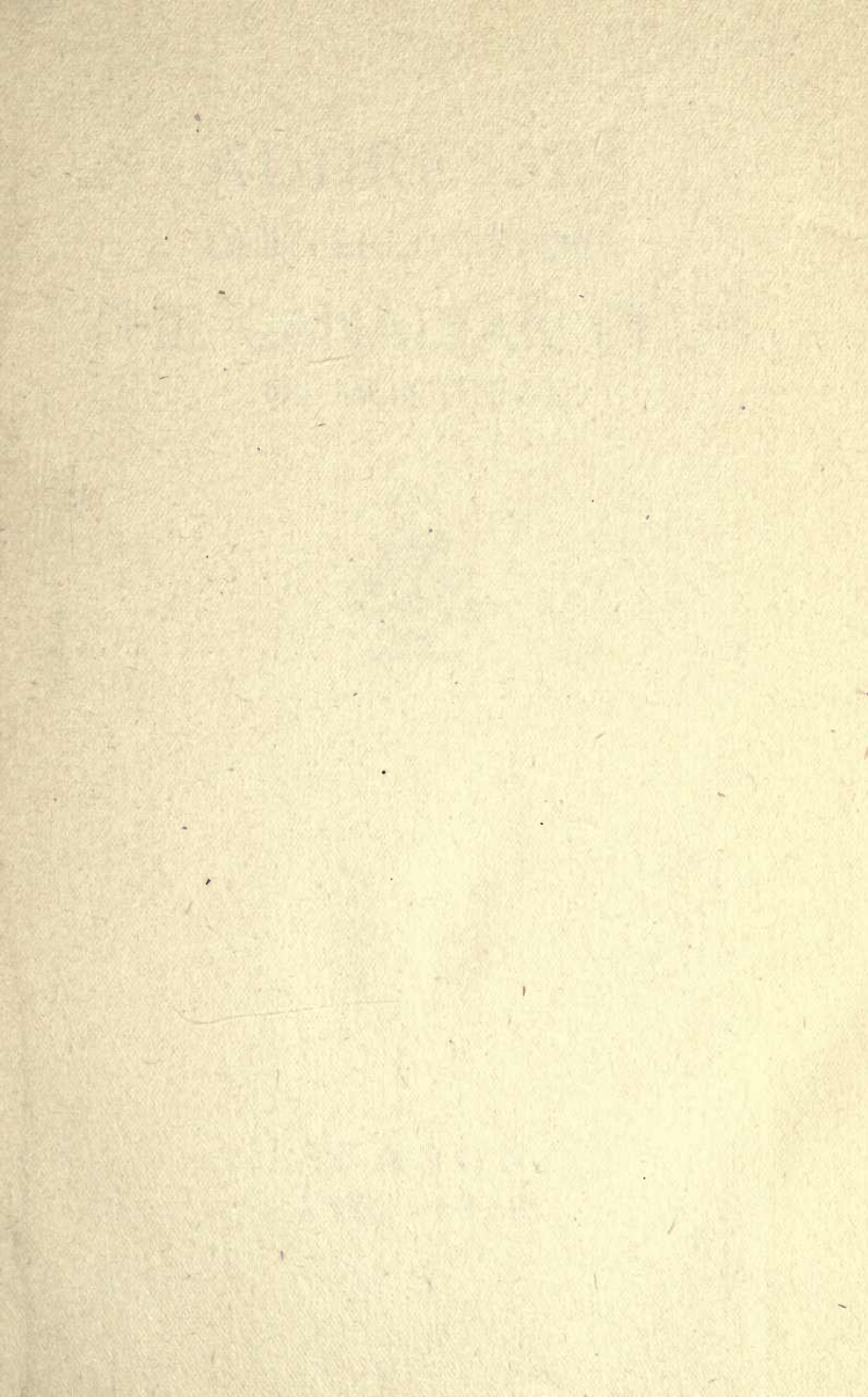


SEASON  
1917-1918



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of murder  
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THE CANADIAN CLUB  
OF MONTREAL



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1917-1918



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## PREFACE

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**T**HESE speeches will have a special value to those who care to look back in after years to the mind of Canada, and of the Allies as it affected Canada, during the war. They are the utterances of representative men who brought home to us in intimate personal speech some of the endless reactions of the war—in the lines and behind, in sea and air, at home and abroad, to-day and to-morrow.

They have refreshed our sense of the real issues, so easily obscured when the war becomes a nightmare habit. They have deepened our consciousness of the problems of to-day; and of that future which, issuing inexorably from the present with mingled promise and menace, stretches inscrutably beyond the reach of prophecy. They have renewed our confidence in the essential justice of our cause, however long its victory may be delayed; and in its essential worth, whatever the cost.

War rhetoric does not wear well; but if anyone cared to make a selection, he would find in these speeches a large number of passages which not only moved great audiences to enthusiasm, but expressed for us again the great faith which heartened our fathers in the deathless words of such as Pericles and Milton and Lincoln, and is sealed afresh by the blood of our sons.

J. A. DALE.



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# Thirteenth Annual Report of the Canadian Club of Montreal

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MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—

I have the honour to present the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Club, covering the season 1917-18.

It is a pleasure to be able to report that the Club never was in such a satisfactory position as at present, especially in regard to finances, membership and the general impulse toward constructive development. This will be demonstrated by the figures I now present to you.

In the past season we have had 41 addresses, exclusive of that of our guest to-day and the evening lecture by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, on Aviation. This contrasts with 30 addresses in 1916-17. That a high standard was maintained throughout the season may be seen by the average attendance, which amounted to 550 members, contrasted with 383 in the previous season, which also constituted a record.

The membership now stands at the maximum allowed by the Club's by-laws, and there is a considerable waiting list. It is to be regretted that the natural growth of the Club is circumscribed by the physical limitations of the city's largest dining-hall, and as this is essentially a Luncheon Club, so set out in our constitution, the maximum of membership would appear to have been reached. As indicating the growth of the Club, perhaps you will allow me to read a short extract from one of the minutes of seven years ago: "In the expectation of hearing T. P. O'Connor, there was present a large number of members—about 304 in all." Our minimum to-day is in excess of that one-time maximum attendance. Our present maximum is substantially over 900, so substantially over 900 that perhaps you would prefer that I do not remind you of the consequent discomforts.

At the time of the Halifax disaster, the members of the Club were asked if they would care personally to contribute to the fund raised for the immediate relief of the sufferers and homeless. As a result we forwarded to Halifax, through the kindness of the Bank of British North America, the sum of \$1,776.50.

The Club issued three sets of book tickets during the season, averaging 243 books per issue.

The number of members on Active Service, so far as we can ascertain, is 169, exclusive of 13 members who have returned from overseas. In this connection it will be fitting to pay our respects to Captain Percival Molson, Honorary Treasurer of the Club from 1911 to 1913, killed in France in July, 1917, and to Captain Talbot Papineau, Honorary Secretary when war was declared, killed in action at Passchendaele, November, 1917.

On May 3, 1918, the Club was honoured by the presence of His Excellency the Duke of Devonshire, who was accorded a most enthusiastic reception.

During the season we had the distinction of hearing two members of the British Cabinet, the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour and the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Smith, also Lord Northcliffe, Harry Lauder, Major Bishop, General MacLachlan, D.S.O., The Archbishop of York, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Samuel Gompers, and two of our own members, Sir Charles Gordon and Mr. John Williamson.

The whole respectfully submitted,

T. KELLY DICKINSON,

*Honorary Secretary.*

# Officers and Executive Committee of the Canadian Club of Montreal

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## OFFICERS

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<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	- - -	H. B. MACKENZIE, A. TARUT
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A. E. HOLT, <i>Past President</i>	

□ □

## PAST PRESIDENTS

1905	- - - - -	A. R. MCMASTER
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1907	- - - - -	W. H. D. MILLER
1908	- - - - -	E. EDWIN HOWARD
1909	- - - - -	E. FABRE SURVEYER, K.C.
1910	- - - - -	JAS. S. BRIERLEY
1911	- - - - -	GEORGE LYMAN
1912	- - - - -	R. L. H. EWING
1913	- - - - -	A. R. DOBLE
1914	- - - - -	DEAN F. D. ADAMS
1915	- - - - -	ROBT. W. REFOR
1916	- - - - -	A. E. HOLT



(May 30, 1917)

## A FAREWELL MESSAGE TO CANADA

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By the RIGHT HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR  
*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the British Cabinet*

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LET me, in responding to the reception you have just given me, first tender my sincere thanks for the honor which the club has done me in electing me one of its honorary members. The honor is a great one, and that it is so would be sufficiently obvious to anyone who will glance around this room, and read the names of those who have honored this occasion by their presence. It gives me profound satisfaction to be admitted as a member of an institution which is not only, I believe, specially characteristic of Canada, but an institution which seems to me on its own merits to be quite admirable, and eminently worthy of imitation in other countries. To be admitted as a member of such an institution is an additional cause for gratitude, added to the many I have already received since I crossed over into this great Dominion.

Your Chairman, in introducing me, was good enough to refer to history which might be accounted ancient, were it not that the effects of the transactions to which he refers are of vital importance at the present world crisis. He, indeed, made one slight slip, and attributed to me an honor which properly belongs elsewhere. I was not a member of the Government which made the arrangements with Russia, although I was the head of the Government which made the arrangements with France and with Japan. It is not too much, in my judgment, to say that the work thus done, partly by the party of which I am a member—although parties no longer exist on the other side—and partly by my friend, Sir Edward Grey, has made the

present resistance to the world domination of Germany a possibility. Had those arrangements with France in the main, and with Japan and Russia, not been made, I do not believe it would have been found possible to organize resistance in time to meet a danger which burst upon a wholly unprepared world. Do not interpret what I say to suggest what is wholly false, that these arrangements were made with hostile intent to Germany. Germany circulates that mis-statement as she has circulated other mis-statements, for purposes which are perfectly obvious and ought to take in nobody; but I speak with knowledge and with authority when I say that, so far as the arrangement with France is concerned (the arrangement with Japan is obviously entirely outside the German question), it was not directed against Germany. It was intended to bring together two great peoples who ought never again to be enemies, but between whom small, petty, and none the less dangerous causes of friction were always arising in the absence of any understanding, and were always looked upon with pleasure and (aggravated as far as possible) by the Central Power of Europe.

There never was an arrangement more sincerely intended to promote the cause of peace. It has promoted the cause of peace and the cause of international friendship; and one of its most important but quite unlooked-for results is that when Germany showed that in her opinion the time had come when she could assert her domination over the civilized world, it was found possible, it was found even easy for Great Britain, for the British Empire, for every free community under the British Empire, to unite together to resist an attack which if successful would be equally fatal to both France and the British Empire and the liberties of both.

Well, so much for the past of which your Chairman has reminded you. As regards the present, you know that my mission, in every part of it and in every respect, was connected with the war, and with nothing but the war; to help, as far as may be, to co-ordinate the efforts of those who are engaged in a common task. That was our business, and to that business we have devoted ourselves. I rejoice to think that in the course of the work with which we were entrusted by the home Government we have found it possible to spend a period, all

too brief but none the less valuable, among our own countrymen in Canada. I will say nothing here of the kindness and the warmth of sympathy with which we were received in the United States, for on that subject I have already often spoken and I hope I shall have other opportunities to speak of it; for the moment I only refer to this great Dominion. I can truly say on behalf of my friends and myself that we have been profoundly moved and touched by the welcome which you have given us. We go away—and I am afraid this is the last day on which I shall have the opportunity of addressing a Canadian audience—we go away enriched with many happy memories. We go away inspired by the consciousness that here on this side of the Atlantic your hearts beat in unison with ours, and separated though we be from you by thousands of miles of stormy ocean, there is no separation of sentiment, of will, of ideal, of effort. We go away yet again enriched by an increased consciousness of the fact that the value of a great Empire like our own, the value of its separate and yet united parts, is not to be measured in figures or estimated by statistics. The value of Canada to the Empire, and of the Empire to Canada, is not to be measured in men or money or ships or any other of the material elements that go to make strength or appear to constitute strength. I do not undervalue those elements. I am ready to admit that the utilitarian side of Empire, as in all other human affairs, is not a side which we can neglect. But while we cannot neglect it, it is dangerous, it is false to over-emphasize it. The union of the various parts of this Empire has a profounder moral significance than any of these dry facts can possibly give. There used to be, but there no longer is, a school of politics in Great Britain, a school which from many points of view I think has won the gratitude of free peoples, but which never could get, in this question of colonies and dominions and the fabric of Empire, beyond these narrow and shallow utilitarian calculations. They misunderstood, in my judgment, not merely the psychology of Britons living at home, but the psychology of Britons and Irishmen living elsewhere. Nothing is more constructive, nothing is more inspiring, than the feeling that men, as differently placed as a citizen of the Empire in Canada is from the citizen of the Empire in, let us say, Middlesex, different as are their environ-

ments, are so fundamentally and essentially one in the likenesses of character, of training, of hopes and of beliefs. You could leave the crowded thoroughfares of London and be transported into the furthestmost corner of the Empire, discuss public affairs with men, and feel on the same plane. You will find that you look at things from the same point of view, that you have the same notions of liberty, of public liberty and private right as if you had talked to the man in the next street in your own home town or village. That was the great glory in time of peace, and the great strength in time of war; and war is upon us, in a shape and of a character such as has never yet been before any people since the history of the world began to be recorded.

I am not going to discuss the developments, the present position or the future prospects of the war. It is a theme too great, perhaps, for any single occasion, certainly quite inappropriate for this occasion, but one observation I may permit myself. It is that the difficulties of war are quite different at the beginning of the struggle from what they are as the struggle draws to its conclusion. When war broke out it found us at home, unprepared; it found even our more military neighbors not over well-prepared. I imagine that it found you in Canada even less organized for immediate warfare against a great power than we were ourselves. All our efforts, therefore, at the beginning of the war were devoted to improvise that colossal organization without which the war could not have been carried on with the success which it has made. I believe that history will say that in spite of many blunders, in spite of many mistakes, in spite of many shortcomings, the organizing effort made by Great Britain and by all the dominions and dependencies of Great Britain, is one of the most remarkable efforts that has ever been made in the history of warfare. The situation was one that had never been seriously contemplated by military, I had almost said either military or naval writers and thinkers. I have been concerned for many years in discussing questions of national defense with naval and military experts of the Crown, and in all those years we constantly discussed the stability of Great Britain, of India, the liability of our lines of commerce with our dominions and other related problems, but never did we discuss or face

the necessity which has now come upon us and upon you, of keeping a colossal land army on the continent of Europe; and let me add not only on the continent of Europe but in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. We never contemplated the possibility that that strain would be put upon our resources. It all, therefore, had to be improvised. The munitions, the finding of men, the training of men, the finding of guns, all the vast financial problems which constantly burst upon the commercial world, all these had to be dealt with without premeditation, without forethought, and under circumstances of the greatest imaginable stress and difficulty. Those were the problems we had to face when the war began. They have been faced not unsuccessfully. The troubles and difficulties that meet us as the war draws towards its termination are of a different kind. They are of a kind which every combatant feels, which I believe our enemy is feeling even more than we ourselves; but all of us certainly feel the difficulties that arise from the relative exhaustion of men and of material. It is inevitable. I want to say to you that it is no subject for discouragement, that it should only suggest and promote more vigorous efforts on the part of every one of the great communities concerned. When my friends and I return to the Mother country we shall, I have no doubt, find that rationing as it is called is in full swing, that it is not possible for any man, whatever be his means, to live in the manner to which in happier days he was accustomed. Sacrifices are being demanded of every individual and of every class, and sacrifices are being cheerfully made. We are near the seat of war; it is our coasts, or the trade rather as it approaches our coasts, which is chiefly menaced by that mode of naval warfare which our enemies have adopted when they found it hopeless to dispute with us the command of the sea; and therefore no doubt the first weight of individual effort and sacrifice falls somewhat more heavily upon the inhabitants of the British Islands than it does upon those who are situated farther from the immediate field of action. But I know how great are the sacrifices that you have undergone, and I know that the sacrifices for which you are prepared are no more to be measured by any selfish standard than are those which your countrymen in the Motherland are undergoing and are themselves prepared to suffer. We

know that this great test is reaching towards its final and concluding act. We know these later stages must be marked by increased hardship and sacrifice. We know that the weight of such things presses more heavily upon our enemy than upon ourselves. We know that upon our endurance and the strength of our determination depends not merely some immediate and transitory issue, but permanent effects generations will not wipe out; and that for good or for evil these effects are going to mould the whole future history of civilization.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not going to touch further on any general question; but you will perhaps allow me to take this opportunity, for my friends as well as for myself, of saying words of farewell. In not many hours from now we leave your kind and hospitable shores. We carry with us memories which we shall never forget. We return, in our several positions, to do what we can to further the great cause in which all of us alike are engaged. We leave behind us friends who will always be our friends, and we know that they, too, in their several positions, are as resolved as we are to do their portion toward the common work. That is an inspiring thought. It diminishes the pains of parting, and although the pains of parting be indeed severe, and although we cannot yet with confidence say that the end is in sight, you will allow me to state in conclusion my own firm and unalterable faith that when we meet again, and may it not be long, we shall have left behind us the darkness, the clouds and the difficulties which now surround us, and we shall look back upon the great events and great deeds in which we have every one of us borne a part, humble it may be, but one of which we shall be proud and of which our children will be proud. And we shall be able to look forward with serenity and with reasonable confidence to carrying out the great destiny, whether it be of Canada or of Great Britain or the Empire as a whole, in peace, in freedom, and in the full consciousness that our fate is in our own hands and that we are not to be dominated by any power, however well organized, however well trained to the work of destruction. We can then resume successfully and securely that peaceful progress which will be the highest approach to the civilization of the future.

SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When attending any large gathering of people during the last three years I have kept a complete silence, and if I break it now I shall break it for the shortest possible time, and with a word of hearty thanks, sit down.

BARON SHAUGHNESSY

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

As your President has said in his opening remarks, the Canadian Club of Montreal is really favored to-day in having as its guest the distinguished statesman, ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain, and present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour. It was a fortunate circumstance that he was able to come across the Atlantic as Chairman of the commission to the United States, because he possessed just the attributes of mind and heart to fit him admirably for the position. The cordiality with which he was received at Washington and the enthusiasm of his welcome at every point that he visited in the United States gave evidence of the wisdom of the selection and the success of his work; and when he crossed the international boundary into his own country—because we have the right to speak of Canada as his country—he brought with him the assurance that our neighbor to the south, the great Republic of the United States, our powerful ally, is determined to give moral support, men and money, to stand steadfastly with Britain and her allies until this war for liberty and civilization is brought to a successful conclusion.

For over a quarter of a century Mr. Balfour has been an outstanding figure in the affairs of the British Empire, and I think I may safely say that in all that time there has been no man whose words carried more weight, who exercised a greater influence than did he. His scholarly attainments, his high ideals, his unwavering devotion to the best interests of the nation, have won for him the esteem and admiration of the whole British people. At his conferences with the officials of the United States, and in his communications with the people that he met there in a public and a private way, he displayed

such tact, he so won their affections, that misunderstandings or misapprehensions of long duration between the British people and those of the United States were quite eradicated, and there was created an atmosphere of mutual confidence and friendship that I am sure will endure indefinitely.

Mr. Balfour's address to-day will serve as additional inspiration to the people of Montreal, who from the beginning of this conflict have given countenance and support to every work calculated to advance the interest of the Allies, and who are quite willing, I am satisfied, to-day, to make any further sacrifices that may be required to bring the war to a successful conclusion in the interests of civilization.

I am very sorry that my friend, the Ambassador from Washington, could not be induced to address you, but I can quite understand how he formed the habit of silence. For a long period he was the near neighbor of Mr. von Bernstorff and he knew the absolute necessity for keeping such silence as might prevent that adroit gentleman from knowing what his plans were.

Mr. Chairman, I might refer to some of the other gentlemen\* who are here with Mr. Balfour, whom unfortunately the regulations of this club do not permit to be asked to address us.

I have much pleasure, sir, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Balfour for his most admirable address and his courtesy in accepting this luncheon at the hands of the Club.

\*Among the guests of the Club were General Brydges and Admiral de Chair.

(July 17, 1917)

## CONSERVATION OF DOMESTIC PRODUCTS AND THE SCHEME OF DOMINION FOOD CONTROL

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By the HON. W. J. HANNA  
*Dominion Food Controller*

---

I HAD the opportunity, some years ago, of hearing Paul Smith Russell in his third and final farewell to the stage. I heard the first, missed the second and caught the third. This is, I take it, in the minds of most of you, your first farewell to the uncontrolled dinner and luncheon at the Canadian Club. I am not sure that there will be a second—I hope there will not be a third.

Now, Mr. President, I should like to say that if you are as ready to approve of our work when I lay down my armor as you are to approve of what we tried to do in the past in the Province of Ontario, it will be well. As I was only appointed a little upwards of three weeks ago, I am sure you will not expect too much of me to-day in the way of actual accomplishment.

The duties that have been assigned to me are very wide. It will take some time to get together the data on which one could safely act. I may say, however, that a great deal of the necessary data has been collected from time to time for different purposes by the different departments of the Government at Ottawa and is available for the work that we now have in hand. It is being put in shape and will be fairly complete, at a very early date.

I said that the duties that have been assigned to me are very wide. If you have any doubt about that all that is necessary is to read the Order creating the position and assigning

the duties of the Food Controller. Let me just show what the order provides. It provides, amongst other things:—

(a) He shall inquire into the location, ownership and sources of supply of foods used by the people of Canada and into the prices and the cause.

(b) Ascertain the food requirements of Canada and facilitate the export of the surplus to Great Britain and her Allies.

(c) Make regulations governing prices, storing, distribution, sale, delivery and conservation of foods and the consumption of same in hotels, restaurants, clubs, and other places, and respecting manufacture, storage and transport of food. The Food Controller is authorized to purchase, requisition, store, sell and deliver food.

That, in brief, is a statement of his authority; that, in brief, is a sketch of the duties assigned him. After all that is done I suppose he is at liberty to go out and have a good time.

Now, then, to carry out such a mandate as that we require the co-operation of the whole people of Canada. Without that co-operation I say to you that we can do but little. I will go further and say that without the co-operation of the people we can do nothing; but, let me say with equal conviction and assurance that with that co-operation—and we ask and hope and expect to get it—with that co-operation, I say, we can do in a large measure what we have been asked to do in that mandate. The people will co-operate if they but know; and it is the duty of you and me, through the press, through organizations such as yours, through the pulpits, the schools and through every means available to see that they do know. It is most important that the case should not be over-stated. I would like to emphasize that. It is equally important that the case be fully stated, because when your people know the facts, when these facts are stated to them fairly and fully, then, I ask, who will be to blame if the people of Great Britain and her Allies go hungry? If the people, the sons of Canada, the sons of the United States, the sons of Great Britain and her Allies fighting for me and for you at the front should go hungry, why is it? Because Canada and the United States have failed to send them bread. For that is the question, the critical one we are here to solve. They would have to retire

in defeat. Are we going to send them bread? Let the facts be known, I say, and the people of Canada, and I have no doubt the people of the United States, will respond.

Some one asks the reason for our appointment. I have practically already stated it, but if we need a further reason for the appointment of a Food Controller in Canada and the United States, it is identically the same as the reason for the appointment of a Food Controller in Great Britain, France and elsewhere. Identically the same, and I will say, equally urgent.

Let me state briefly what the facts are. I am not here to-day telling you something you don't know. If I can but remind you of the importance of what you know as well as I do as bearing on this question, I shall have done all that in me lies to do, so far as meetings of this kind are concerned.

With Russia, the greatest wheat-producing country of the world, and the Balkans, cut off from the markets of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy, and with the millions of men in these countries engaged at the front or in munitions, with some of the most productive sections of some of the Allied countries in the hands of the enemy, with Australia and South America too far away, Great Britain and her Allies, always importers even in normal times, must rely on Canada and the United States for their bread, their beef, their bacon. And the supplies of these in Canada and the United States threaten to be altogether unequal to the demand. That is the situation; check it up if you will. Norway can no longer send her fish because the sea lies between, and under it the submarines. Russia cannot send wheat; France cannot supply her own people; Argentina is too far away, and transportation too scarce, to make Argentina wheat of service. Australia has wheat ready to ship, but boats cannot be sent to take it because of the length of the journey and the shortage of tonnage. So figure out the situation, and there is no one who can give it a moment's consideration but must come to the conclusion that the only source of supply for Great Britain and her allies—bearing in mind not only the men at the front and those supporting them but the millions of men in these countries engaged in the manufacture of munitions and taken away from the work of production—the only sources of supply

are Canada and the United States. We are here but to remind you and point to the importance of the situation in its bearing on the work assigned to us.

What are the figures? Take the wheat allowance estimated for the total requirements of the Allies and neutrals; because the neutrals have their claim upon us, and without our help their men and women will starve; they are dependent on outside sources for supplies. The total requirements for the Allies and the neutrals will be, for this year, 1917, 1,105,000,000 bushels. The production of Europe for this period is estimated at 645,000,000 bushels. We must export from Canada and the United States, to meet this, 460,000,000 bushels; 460,000,000 bushels that must go from the shores of Canada and the United States to the Army at the front, to the people at home in these countries, or they will go hungry. It is estimated that Canada and the United States will have for export on the basis of normal consumption, 300,000,000 bushels. So we are clearly short 160,000,000 bushels and that we must make up. The figures in beef and bacon are equally disturbing. I want to say, and in all earnestness, that the figures given out to the press and on the public platform are but a mild statement of the situation. The word that we have from approved sources means that the situation is urgent and demands from us the utmost of what we can do.

The paramount duty of the Food Controller in both the United States and Canada is to see that that shortage of 160,000,000 bushels of wheat and the shortage in beef and bacon is made up. If it is not, our cause may fail. There is, fortunately, room to make up a great part of this shortage by means to which everyone can contribute, and that is by our surplus food. The shortage must be made up and everyone can contribute. We must help to make it up, first, by production—I will not say much of that now; second, by shifting of foods; and third, by elimination of waste.

There have been lectures by those who know and by those who do not know. It may be interesting to you to know that in the production of perishable foods, such as vegetables, by Mr. Hoover's estimate, the United States is practically doubling its output. And I want to say that if you look around the cities in this Dominion, there has been, to my knowledge,

a great increase in the output. In the city of Montreal you can go to the vacant lots; I don't know the local situation here as well as I do that of Toronto, but there it has been very nearly double, if not double. It will probably measure up to what Mr. Hoover says is the record output in the United States. I have said that the producers have done well. The consumers, and this includes all classes, including the producer, must do their part; they must shift their consumption and eliminate waste. These are the two points I want to emphasize to-day. If each consumer in the United States and Canada will reduce his consumption of wheat, beef and bacon by one-third, we shall have the answer. If all would do it, we should have the answer twice over. But in spite of all that we do, many will not. Let each one commit himself to one-third and live up to it. This means no sacrifice. Instead of wheat there is cornmeal, oatmeal, etc.; we most of us were mighty well accustomed to it some years ago, and we could live very well.

Every three of us here in Canada, without sacrificing ourselves, simply by shifting our diet, can support a soldier at the front and give him all he wants. He doesn't want much variety, but it is important that he shall have anything he wants. Instead of that one-third less of beef and pork, use vegetables, stews, and fish, serve smaller portions; instead of steaks, make dishes of left-overs, and there will be enough for everyone at reasonable prices; but elimination of waste in hotels, clubs, restaurants and public places as well as in the homes of Canada would work enormous saving. What lies about us on every hand we do not see at all. This is well brought out by a letter written by a citizen of your city to Sir Robert Borden the other day, which states the matter better than I could state it. He says: "Returning from England, I have been greatly impressed with the tremendous amount of food waste in Canada as compared with England. Go into any hotel or eating restaurant in Montreal and you will see as many as one hundred different items on the bill of fare from which customers can make a choice." This is from a Montreal citizen, a man who I think would be a judge of bills of fare. "It seems to me that if Canada is to do her share in sending all the surplus food supplies we can to England, there should be

compulsory restriction introduced throughout Canada at once, to compel the different hotels, clubs, to offer, say two courses for breakfast, two courses for lunch and three courses for dinner, or some restrictions of that kind. I feel satisfied that if this were made compulsory it would go a long way to reducing the present high cost of living in Canada, as well as increasing the present supplies of food available for export. I would like also to see some system of voluntary rations, like in England. I feel satisfied if some such measures were introduced in Canada by the Food Controller, it would do more to bring the war home to the Canadian people than anything else. It is simply appalling to me to return to Canada, after being in England for some time, and witness the superabundance of everything in the way of food supplies in Canada."

That is a letter from a Canadian who has been away and he has written it because he has been away. There is opportunity there if we only avail ourselves of it.

In an article written for the press by Ogden Armour he gives some very striking figures which are equally applicable to Canada. He says:—"The American garbage can gets \$100,000,000 worth of foodstuffs annually." That means one dollar for each person in the United States going into the garbage can. "That is waste and it must be stopped. The public press and leading magazines have given the matter considerable attention since the war broke out, and I am sure that a change is being effected. Conservation of food does not require that we go hungry or that we stint ourselves at the table. All that is necessary is that waste be eliminated. The need is that enough food be cooked, rather than too much, and that food be bought when needed and not permitted to lie around in the larder and spoil. In a word, the American housewife must recognize, as her husband is doing, that war demands efficiency and that waste is nothing less than inefficiency."

In a letter received by me the other day, the Chairman of the Board of Health of a small town in which there is an incinerator said that into the incinerator there went three whole quarters of beef that never had a knife in it. It appears that because some small corner grocery clerk permitted it to spoil, and in order to avoid detection, it was sent to the incinerator.

For the shifting of foods we must have organization. Such organization will reach every individual and every home in Canada. We have established complete co-operation with Mr. Hoover at Washington. Both Washington and Ottawa are availing themselves of this relationship, certainly to our great advantage and occasionally to theirs. We are in daily communication with Lord Rhondda as well, as to the Allies' needs and how we can save. There has just arrived a message from Lord Rhondda. Lord Rhondda directs me to say that he will gladly and unreservedly co-operate with us; he realizes how much they depend on Canada for an effective solution of their food problems. This is direct from Lord Rhondda this morning, so you see the situation is urgent and we must make response.

In the way of expediting our work, we have appointed a committee consisting of Judge Ross, Miss Watson, Mr. Cooper of the C.P.R., of your city, and Mr. Wright of Toronto, to go into the question of hotels, restaurants, etc. They have done excellent work, this committee, most important work. One of the first questions to be settled is, will their recommendations be for voluntary adoption or will they be compulsory? There is a very strong case for compulsion if the letters I am receiving are any indication. However, we shall see.

We have appointed a fish commission, which will give attention to the Great Lakes' supply and the markets of Central Canada, with perhaps an advisory Board in each Province, consisting of the heads of different departments and heads of different organizations. In Ontario we have representatives from the Resources' Committee, the Thrift Committee, Daughters of the Empire, the National Council of Women, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. We have the Loyal Orange Lodge working hand in hand with the Knights of Columbus; the Public and Separate Schools and the Churches. With proper literature in the hands of these people and with every locality organized as they have been, these organizations have been doing excellent work. Our work will give them a new impetus.

On the question of shifting of food and elimination of waste we hope for much, but this is not all. The question of distribution is probably more important than either. With three

times the stores in the cities that are necessary, with their small turnovers and the large aggregate numbers employed, telephone orders, motors for delivery, costs are enhanced and waste runs rampant. But, someone asks, what about prices? That is a fair question, and an important question these days. We shall not hesitate to fix prices where necessary, but we shall do so as methodically as we can. If ever there was a time when we should keep our heads on this subject that time is now.

Correspondence is coming to hand now saying: you ask us to substitute brown bread for white, but brown bread costs more than white bread. I say that brown bread should cost less, and it will before many days go by. While our primary duty is to save food for export, the prices must be right. As to what constitutes a fair price, it is difficult to get a better definition than that given by President Wilson to the people of the United States last Thursday, whether to the consumer, the distributor, the wholesaler or the merchant. President Wilson said:

"A just price must of course be paid for everything the government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages and make possible the expansion of their enterprise which will, from time to time, become necessary as the stupendous undertakings of this great war develop. We could not wisely or reasonably do less than pay these prices. They are necessary for the maintenance and development of industry, and the maintenance and development of industry are necessary for the great task we have on hand."

No one can quarrel with that. But, to quote further, he says:—

"I trust that we shall not surround the matter with a mist of sentiment. Facts are our masters now. We ought not to put the acceptance of such prices on the ground of patriotism. Patriotism and profits ought never in the present circumstances be mentioned together. It is perfectly proper to discuss profits as a matter of business with a view to maintaining the integrity of capital and the efficiency of labor in these tragical months, when the liberty of free men everywhere and of industry itself

trembles in the balance, but it would be absurd to discuss them as a motive for helping to serve and save our country. Patriotism leaves profits out of the question. In these days of our supreme trial when we are sending hundreds of thousands of our young men across the seas to serve a great cause, no true man who stays behind to work for them will ask himself what he is personally going to make out of that labor. No true patriot will permit himself to take toll of their heroism in money or seek to grow rich by the shedding of their blood. He will give as freely and with as unstinted self-sacrifice as they. When they are giving their lives, will he not give at least his money?"

Then there is the question of maximum and minimum prices. On some articles we may have to adopt both. Ogden Armour ably supports the contention that there ought in many instances to be both. But we must in such matters act in co-operation with those to the south of us and only after the best advice we can get. We cannot discuss the question of fixing our prices here without co-operation there; they are not likely to do it there without our co-operation here. There will be no difficulty about co-operation. That the food for export, and at reasonable prices, must be had, is our business and yours. That those at home must be maintained and supported at reasonable cost is likewise our business. We must do both.

(September 24, 1917)

## OUR DEMOCRACIES AND THE WAR

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By the HON. W. A. HOLMAN

*Premier of New South Wales*

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I CANNOT enter upon the task of expressing to you the pleasure with which I find myself your guest to-day. If I began I should never finish it until the time allotted by your sagacious regulations had expired, and I must ask you to imagine, if you can, with what sentiments and emotions I find myself,—an Australian, a member of the British family, a representative, however unworthy, of the valiant comrades in arms of your own gallant armies now struggling at the front,—received here and welcomed as I am at this large and representative gathering in this great city. My emotions, indeed, are almost inexpressible, and I shall make no effort to express them. I saw an advertisement the other day in a United States paper, describing a very gifted and charming woman, a heroine of the variety stage, as the lady of a thousand adjectives. I, unhappily, come from a country which is only favored with one—the great adjective of the Australian—and although we may pride ourselves on having made it famous before Bernard Shaw did, it is a very feeble equipment with which to face the task of describing to you the relations of sentiment which must necessarily exist between yourselves and us. I must therefore beg you to believe me, gentlemen, when I say that I am deeply grateful for the thought which prompted this extraordinary welcome, and I will at once, without further acknowledgment of the compliment paid me, and through me paid my State, pass to the consideration of one or two of the aspects of the conditions in which we all find ourselves to-day.

You are here, as in Australia, in a singular position, a position I venture to say sometimes misunderstood by some of the most sincere of those who discuss it. I venture to remind you all, gentlemen, that the problem before us to-day is not whether we should begin a war; the problem is how shall we end one—by a base and humiliating surrender or by a successful achievement of the objects for which we set out? That is the problem which confronts the British Empire at this moment. We still hear the problem discussed as if the question were whether we should go to war at all. That question no longer confronts us. The question is not that of entrance to a quarrel, but of conducting it so that the opposer in future may have reason to beware of us. That is a point of view which sometimes seems to me insufficiently understood in Australia and possibly here, and I believe that you will bear with me for a short time whilst I put what appears to me to be the fundamental, the guiding consideration in this connection, before you. We, the great young democracies of the Empire, consider it vitally necessary that we should look after the interests of the great masses of our people. My whole life has been spent in politics in connection with a party which consistently aimed at that end. To-day we see around us the pacifist, so-called, who rises and says that regard for the interests of the masses demands that this warfare should now cease. I have been a pacifist all my life, I have been a democrat all my life, I have been in Australia, the most advanced and democratic of communities, connected with the most advanced and democratic movements which exist even there, and I have asserted, and I assert now, that the primary interest of the workers, the masses of the people in every country under the sun is and always will be peace. That must be recognized by all of us. But why? What have the people to gain from peace? They have to gain from peace the opportunity of devoting themselves to the appropriate tasks of peace; they have to gain from peace time and the occasions to concentrate public thought upon the great problems connected with their peaceful and industrial development. They want peace in order that they may enjoy peace, and in order that the public soul may be turned towards the consideration of those things which are essential for the gain-

ing of higher and better standards in generations still to come.

Such a peace is now, always has been and always will be, the primary condition, the primary essential of every form of popular and democratic development. If such a peace could be gained by pursuing the course which is sometimes outlined to us by those who, masquerading under the name of the friends of peace preach this doctrine, I say that it would be our duty to accept the occasion when it offered. no matter what humiliation might be involved, no matter what sacrifice of pride might be involved. I know that you, in Canada, as well as the masses of the people of Australia, realize that no such peace is possible, without first a victory which has removed from the scene the forces which make a permanent peace impossible in the world to-day. What would peace mean if it came now but an immediate commencement of preparation for the next war? With the enemy unbroken, military power reconfirmed on its throne, the guides and leaders of the Central Empire would be in a position to say to their people: "Behold, our doctrines have been justified by the results. See how we, the Germanic peoples, have faced the united forces of the world and defied them. Trust your future to us. We will guide you from one triumph to another, as our ancestors did before." The cessation of arms to-day would permit the statesmen of Germany and Austria to speak in such terms, and they would be justified in speaking so, if at this moment we broke off the struggle. Clearly, the whole world would shudder with the danger of a renewal of hostilities, and the whole world would have to apply itself to preparations for its defense. We should find that instead of peace, which could be devoted to the contemplation of the tasks of democracy, instead of a peace which could be devoted to the working out of the great industrial and economic problems of the world, instead of a peace in which education would advance and the humbler and lower ranks of society could be elevated to something like a real and lasting equality with those who are at present superior to them, we should have a peace in which the whole intellectual power of mankind would be concentrated on the one dread problem of destruction. Instead of the science of the world turning as it does to-day its illuminating ray upon one problem after another presented to us by nature, counting

as its triumphs the subjugation of one natural force after another to the uses of mankind, our scientists would be trained to invent new weapons of warfare and more detestable means of annihilating our fellow men than have so far been devised by the inventive genius of mankind. The whole world would be an armed camp. Our young men would be torn from their homes, their studies, their preparation for life; not as they are at present, as a mere emergency matter to carry us through the difficulties of a great national crisis; but as a permanent institution. In every country in the world there would be conscription, and there would be a special need for conscription in those countries in which some vestige of liberty still lingers, because they would have some stake in the chance, something to lose if the enemy should succeed. Canada, Australia, the United States, countries which so far have escaped the blight and curse of militarism, would be plunged most deeply into it. They would see their communities bound up in a servitude of arms and compelled for ever to subordinate all other national questions to the question of meeting the attack which everybody would know was bound to come. That is the prospect which stretches before us, and before the world, to-day if this mighty struggle ends in any way but one. This is the kind of peace desired by a few feeble spirits who weaken half way through their task, and having entered upon this glorious struggle, find themselves to-day without the determination which is necessary to see that struggle through to its successful end. We are, I believe, and I say it in no boastful spirit, no unworthy or degenerate descendants of those predecessors of our own race who in many a bitterly fought struggle in the past have shown to the world that they knew how to bind kings in chains and nobles in links of iron when that was necessary to secure the greater happiness and prosperity of mankind. I therefore take this opportunity, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, speaking as one who I believe is authorized to speak from the people of my State and of Australia, to ask that every democrat, every supporter of the cause of the people and the cause of the laboring masses, should realize that this is the cause which is at stake to-day. Whatever else may fail, the cause of democracy and of human advancement will surely fail if the German triumphs in the struggle that is now before us.

I desire, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, to carry this consideration of the attitude of the pacifist a step farther, and I do it because I am one myself and always have been. Some of the most earnest of men hold the views which I have just been combating. Those who treacherously hold them are men to be dealt with not by argument but by punishment; but there are those who sincerely believe that the moment has arrived for the termination of the war. They see two dangers before them. They admit that there is a danger to the peace and well-being of the world in German supremacy; but they say there is another and possibly a greater danger in the establishment of the militaristic spirit in our own midst. All the world will become soldiers, and fighting will become the most permanent and most popular of occupations. In these days, Mr. Chairman, we are all, if not strategists, at least students of strategy, and there is a very close parallel between the problems presented in strategy itself and the problems which are presented in the management of political affairs. I wish to speak for a moment of an incident which occurred in the life of the greatest of strategists, Napoleon, and will make no apologies for venturing as an ignorant layman into that difficult field. As I understand Napoleon's situation on the occasion of his last and greatest struggle—at Waterloo—he was confronted there by two enemies, the British and the Prussians. It was necessary for him, if he were to succeed, to overcome both. He arranged on the first day of the campaign that the English were to be attacked by a certain portion of his troops, the Prussians by a second portion, and that a third portion, under an unfortunate commander who lives in history, should first aid in attacking the English, and then after a certain measure of success had been achieved, come over some miles away and assist Napoleon in attacking the Prussians. The history of the incident is well known. Through a mistake of some staff officer, this commander was directed to come and assist Napoleon in his fight against the Prussians while he was still on his way to assist in the attack on the British. He accordingly turned and marched many miles away from his true objective. By the time that he arrived on the scene of Napoleon's struggle the mistake had been discovered and he again turned his back on his new objective

and marched back again over many miles of country, dragging with him all his equipment and finally arriving on the field of Quatre Bras when the battle was over. He had spent the whole day in marching and countermarching, not having struck a blow at all on either side of the conflict. He was to have struck two blows at two enemies in succession; he struck neither, because he did not understand the order in which the blows were to be struck. Now we have a precise parallel to that to-day in the position of the pacifist. He sees two enemies to the chances of permanent peace. One is the mighty military power of the Central Empire; the other, in his judgment, is the growth of militaristic sentiment in the midst of these peaceful communities. Really, if he is to be guided by the principles of strategy, he has to strike down each of these enemies, and each in their turn. But like this commander of Napoleon's, he wanders from field to field, spends his time marching and counter-marching and strikes at neither. To-day, when the whole power of the nations is concentrated against the German, now is the time for the pacifist to help to remove that obstacle in the path of peace. When he has done that, if there is another obstacle to peace and to the peaceful development of the world in the existence of military organization that has sprung into being, the pacifist will find plenty of supporters who will help him to remove any evil which that military organization may create. But let him not make the mistake of striking at the wrong objective at the wrong moment. The whole power of our race and of our allies is to-day concentrated upon one goal, upon one danger, so that it may be definitely and permanently removed from the path of humanity; the pacifists, many of them noble, conscientious, earnest and sincere men, they are the men who should be supporting that attack with every faculty with which they have been endowed. The place of the pacifist to-day is in the front line, leading the embattled forces of the allies against the power which represents militarism in its concrete form. And so I say to you, gentlemen, we Austrians and Canadians, we may meet each other and look each other in the face with absolutely open consciences and with absolutely sincere hearts. We are not fighting for any military victory, God forbid; we are not fighting for any triumph of

militarism, God forbid. The weapon has been thrust into our hands. Peaceful, friendly communities, living in amity with the whole of the rest of mankind, welcoming all mankind to our shores and finding homes in our midst for the people of every European race, we nations have suddenly been compelled to become nations of soldiers, where before we were nations of farmers and miners, in order that we may defend the freedom and the free institutions which we hold dear, and which we believe are essential to the development of our national life. I find myself among you, my brethren, my comrades in this great struggle, and I know without having met you before that your sentiments are like ours. You find, I believe, like the Australians, nothing more detestable than war and all the traffic of war. Like us, you look forward to a period of real and sincere and lasting friendship of the nations, when the sword shall be beaten into a ploughshare and each may sit under their own vines and fig-trees. That is our ideal and that is yours; only one influence still troubles the waters, only one power still makes it impossible to impose this peace on the distracted history of European affairs. That power is now erect, in arms and menacing us. We have seen the work of that power during the last three years; we have seen the criminal and reckless brutality with which that power has waged war. We are at work to-day in our turn, having drawn the sword of justice, having determined that it shall be proved to mankind that there is judgment to come and there is punishment for the abandoned criminals who have, regardless of all laws, recklessly let loose the horrors of war upon the world.

Yes, gentlemen, I hope this war will never cease until there have been brought to trial, a plain, criminal trial under the various criminal laws of the different countries, all the men—commanders, ministers, and even royalties themselves—who have been responsible for the outrages which have horrified the world. I can see in my mind's eye a German general called upon to plead before a tribunal in Belgium. "You came here, into this peaceful country, you burned the houses, shot the men, ravished the women, murdered children, old men and priests. You took innocent hostages and when accidents occurred you had them massacred. You did these things against the law of Belgium; I say nothing about the

law of God or the law of nations, but against the law of Belgium, an independent and sovereign power with full jurisdiction over all that takes place in Belgian territory. Justify it; justify it now, if you can, before a Belgian jury; and if you cannot, suffer, by the laws of Belgium as the criminal that you are." That is one of the hopes which inspires me, which renews my vigor and my zeal every time I feel faint-heartedness stealing upon me. I hope to see the criminals punished and I hope to see reparation secured for the injured and the suffering. I hope to see ushered in a new era of peace and happiness for mankind, and I shall feel that we of Australia and you of Canada have nobly played our parts in bringing into being that new era of peace.

(October 9, 1917)

## FOOD AND THE WAR

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By the RIGHT HON. LORD NORTHCLIFFE

*Chairman of the British War Mission to the United States*

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I DO not know whether the very warm welcome you have given me is due to the fact that I see before me in this hall numerous friends to whom I have often spoken before, or whether it is due to the fact that I am handing out between fifty and eighty millions of dollars weekly. However, I am deeply grateful to you for the magnificent reception you have given me whatever your motive may be. Your Chairman very kindly met me on my arrival in Montreal, and I told him I thought I would speak to you to-day about the present and that I would also attempt to divine something about the future.

On the last occasion when I addressed you, just before the war, and also in 1908, I had no hesitancy in saying that in my numerous visits to Germany I saw obvious preparations in hand for an attack upon France, but principally upon the British Empire. Looking back on the nature of those preparations and the fact that Germany declined to enter into any arrangements for the reduction of fleet or armaments, it seems to me that our politicians, occupied in the peaceful affairs of a free democracy, were blind to what was obvious to anyone with a pair of eyes. However, there is no use crying over spilt milk. The war came and it was a far greater affair than was at first anticipated by any of us. Not even the most far-seeing of us, not even those who had studied Prussian history since the time of Frederick the Great, could have had any idea whatever of the lengths to which the Prussians would go in their endeavors to crush the world's democracies.

My coming here on this occasion was for the very practical purpose of discussing the food situation with your Food Controller. I have had the pleasure of knowing and meeting the three food controllers Mr. Hoover, Lord Rhondda, and Mr. Hanna, and they strike me as men of the same type exactly; fearless of criticism, and having the courage to take up the most unpopular task in any democracy, that of decreasing the size of every man's meal. I always say that a Food Controller should have the courage of a lion, the eyes of a hawk and the hide of a buffalo. I hope I shall not be accused of preaching to my fellow subjects when I say that I have not seen very much sign of food control in Canada as compared with the restrictions placed upon our food in Great Britain.

The food situation of the world, described to me by the three great experts of food, men like Mr. Hoover, who has studied this subject for years, is that owing to the shortage of labor caused by the war, the number of men in the armies and munition factories, labor taken away from the farms, there is a world shortage of food. It is very difficult to believe that in any large and great city. In all the cities at war I have visited there was plenty of food in the stores and hotels and the restaurants. None the less, if you watch the increased price of food in all these countries, even in one so strictly controlled as ours, where profiteering is impossible, you cannot blind your eyes to the fact that there is some real reason for the rise in the price of food, the real reason being the fact that the food of the public has to be limited. So far as profiteering is concerned, we in Great Britain have the most drastic laws against it. We have divided Great Britain into sixteen food sections. I will not weary you with the whole of the details of our food plans; I have given them to your reporters, and if you will turn to any of your excellent newspapers to-morrow you will find an authentic account of what has taken place in Britain; but one or two things I must say. We in Great Britain, like you in Canada, have the reputation that when we have made a law we keep it. It has taken us a long time to devise proper methods of food control and I do not suppose that at the end of ten years the scheme will be perfect; it must vary with the circumstances, the time and the needs of the war, but Lord

Rhondda's scheme is a large scheme, and although it is unpopular as all such schemes must be, it is working well. He has had the courage to license all dealers in food, take over the flour mills, insist upon the milling of the flour in certain grades, abolish the white loaf, fine storekeepers very heavily for infractions of food prices, and put them out of business for second infractions; and impose fines, large fines, on all who attempt to profiteer. Now why is all this being done? It is not because the civil population of Great Britain is in need of food. We have stimulated agriculture to the extent that we have under cultivation this year three million more acres than we had last year. This may be a small amount of land in the Dominion of Canada, but it is a very large amount of land in so small a country as ours. Our farmers have risen to the occasion. Their boys are at the war, the old men, the wives, girls and children with us, as in noble France, are cultivating the land and taking in the harvest. The war has produced this benefit, that it has forced us to use advanced agricultural machinery, automobile tractors which can be operated by a girl and which can plow many acres a day. We are using all kinds of waste land, and we have made better farms all round. The soldiers back from the war have learned much of excellent farming from the farms in Flanders and France, where quite a large family can live on a plot of land which in England was regarded as of no use to work. The war has materially increased the attention paid to food production.

Why are we making all these food regulations? Most of them have to do with the future. No one in the world has any idea of the duration of the many wars that are waging in Europe, in Asia and in Africa. It is not one war, it is many wars. No one in the world has any idea whether it will be possible so to end submarine warfare that food supplies can cross the Atlantic or go along the Mediterranean or go to Africa in safety. At the present time, despite the assertions of those who like to look on the favorable side of things (and by so doing in my judgment stop ship production, inventors from thinking, and so on), I have my grave doubts on that subject. Germany is pinning her faith on the submarine, and the war in Flanders and France is between Sir Douglas

Haig and the French commander and the submarine. The Germans have been enduring the punishment they have received from Haig's artillery in the belief that the submarine will bring France and Great Britain to their knees. The real reason for our conservation of food is not to protect the civil population at all, but to see that the Allied armies at the front get their full rations. There are many in this room, I know, who know what the word "front" means. They have been to the war, and I can imagine no greater selfishness on the part of a democracy than to eat its fill while it is allowing its soldiers, in that dreary land in which they have been for three years, to go short. The very work of a soldier demands that he should be the best fed man in the world.

And not only have we to protect the food of the soldier. I have not the figures before me, but you are all aware that since the beginning of the war the ships of the British Navy and those attached to it have increased tenfold. Sometimes we think of the Navy only in terms of battleships, destroyers and submarines. Added to these are thousands of small craft, trawlers, drifters, observation ships and on every one of these summer and winter—and don't forget we have a very severe winter in the North Sea and North Atlantic—are men who must have their daily full ration to carry out their work.

Quite apart from our Navy, which has prevented any German ship from appearing on the ocean for the last eighteen months, are the men in the air. Can you conceive a man going through that hellish life, 18,000 feet up, clothed in electrically heated clothes and supplied with oxygen to enable him to breathe; can you imagine him doing that on half rations?

Can you imagine the boys in the trenches surviving a week if we had to cut down their pork and beans and the various things they have to eat? And can you imagine the men and women working in the factories and mines, here and in Great Britain going short? These are some of the reasons to which we in Great Britain attach such enormous importance in the control of the food of the people. And I congratulate you on having found, as we have found, someone to look after the almost impossible job, who does not mind stones being thrown at him.

So much for the present of the war. In my opinion the

present is a more satisfactory position than at any time in three years. I have had the honor of being with Sir Douglas Haig when he has been planning those great drives of his. They are very little understood by people who look at maps and see he has only advanced one or two miles. They are very easily understood by those who have been at the front and have some idea of the method by which he is reducing the population of Germany in these underground forts. It is not a question of territory at all at present, it is a question of the destruction of the strongest underground forts in the history of the world, and he is destroying them.

And he has had the splendid help of a large number of boys from this Dominion. I have had happy days with those boys in France. I spent two days with the Canadian boys, and I sometimes wonder if people altogether realize what is in the minds of the fighting men of the world. I see that it is estimated that the world's men in arms are between thirty and forty millions. No one knows the figure at all. It must be many millions. In and about our army and navy, including yours, the Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans, we believe that there are about seven and a half million men in and about the war. You can therefore assume that the figures I have given you are very roughly right. I give them on the authority of military writers who have made up these figures. But whatever the number may be, when they return they are certain to be the masters of their countries as the Grand Army was when it returned.

That opens up an interesting and very important question. Those who studied the history of the great republic across the line—the republic which I am glad to see is acting so vigorously and drastically now it has gone to war—know, that although the Civil War of the States was a very small combat compared with the great earthquake of the present, the Grand Army of the Republic exercised great power in the government up to the time which is within the memory of all in this room.

Well, our soldiers have something of that kind very much in their minds. I have talked with many of them. You can imagine that one who has gone across to France, who has lived in that hell in the trenches, in those dreary and draughty billets, those dark dugouts, in perpetual danger, for three years,

is not the same kind of young man as the young man who went from home. And I don't believe, personally, that any boy who has been engaged in fighting eighteen thousand feet in the air is going to take a seat in somebody else's office when he comes back. I don't believe that any of the semi-feminine occupations of peace times will ever be engaged in by anyone who has been part and parcel of the great war. And I think we civilians had better bestir ourselves and just think ahead a bit. We did not think about the war. When I spoke about the war here and in Winnipeg I was almost stoned in 1908. And I dare say it won't please people to think that we are going to have something like an aspect of world socialism when these armies get back. I find that the officers are entirely in line with the men, and while they are all fighting and are succeeding for ideals against savagery, a great many of them say, "Well, what for us after the war? What are we here for? Why are people staying at home and not coming here?" Those people will dominate every town where there is a vote. They did it in the United States where there was a handful of them. We have seven and a half millions of them with their wives having votes many of them, and nobody is so fierce as the wife of a soldier. As you know, the women in our country have just been given votes; the women in New Zealand have had votes for many years—and New Zealand has sent forward a larger proportion of its population to war than any part of the Empire.

My hope is that our boys will have good leaders when they come back. It is up to us to see that everything possible is done for them. War is the worst paid trade in the world. When you think what a man is going through for a dollar a day and think that in some of the western towns a man can earn two and a half dollars a day sweeping a park and waiting for the sunset—just compare that with the life of some of those dear boys at the front. Every time I go I come away with the determination to spend the rest of my life seeing that those boys get justice. They will be dominant here and in Britain as, thank God, they are dominant in France to-day.

And our great fear is that perhaps some politicians, if the war endures longer—and it surely will endure longer—will accept some negotiable peace, some sham peace that will

merely lead to more and more war, I don't believe there is a person in this audience who has those views? Is there? Is there one? Most surely if this is patched up, the Prussian will fall back for another spring and take us one by one next time. Had she obeyed Bismarck she would never have taken on two nations at once. He warned her not to attack Russia and France, but she did it and it was a fatal mistake; and he never thought they would be such lunatics as to attack the British Empire too.

I urge everyone in this room to insist that the sacrifice of our boys shall not lead up to a sham peace. I earnestly ask that for the sake of the world's safety for this and for other democracies, we once and for all get rid of the Kaiser and his satellites. I am one of those who believe that the war was really over when the first German turned his back on Paris in September, 1914. The main object had been defeated. The plans of German military scientists for years proved nugatory; and if we can only hold together as we are, we of the British Empire, France, Italy, with the sterling and virile aid of the great republic, I have no doubt that for many centuries to come we shall have abolished the scourge that is so terrible a strain to us in Europe, and for the destruction of which you have so nobly come from Canada.

(October 15, 1917)

## FROM PRO-GERMAN TO PRO-ALLY

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By CARL W. ACKERMAN

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**L**OOKING into so many eyes I feel so very much like the Chinese Minister at Brussels at the beginning of the war that I shall have to tell you of a little incident which occurred in that city just before the German army occupied it. The German Commander sent a map of Brussels to the American Minister, Mr. Whitlock, and asked him to mark on this map the location of the neutral legations and consulates. Mr. Whitlock was further requested to notify the neutral ministers and consuls that they should fly the flags of their countries from their housetops. Mr. Whitlock marked the map and then telephoned his colleagues. Shortly afterward the Chinese Minister appeared at the American Legation and said very excitedly: "Mr. Minister, did you mean that if the Chinese flag flies from our Legation the Germans won't bombard it?" "Yes, Your Excellency," said Mr. Whitlock, "I have been assured that if the flag flies from the various neutral legations they will not be bombarded." "But, Mr. Minister," said the Chinese Minister, "Cannons don't have eyes."

When your President invited me to speak here, although he said that the Canadian Club had something like eighteen hundred members, I did not expect to see so many here. I am indeed flattered and very grateful to you, gentlemen, for coming here, because I have something very urgent and very important which I want to say to the men of Canada, which I have said to the men of the United States in various parts of that country. There is to-day throughout the world a very strong peace movement under way. Mr. H. G. Wells, writing to the London Daily News, said that he believed that reason-

able men—those were his words—of all countries, had reached the point where they were ready to discuss peace, and he said that a few political leaders in all the belligerent countries were preventing peace. Dr. Charles W. Eliot, ex-President of Harvard, and a very respected writer and leader in the United States, proposed a week ago in the New York Times, that an informal, unofficial peace conference be held to discuss feasible peace terms. Those were also his words. He proposed that all the belligerent nations send from four to two or three to one delegates, depending upon the size of the nations, to a conference, and at this conference these gentlemen discuss the issues which were dividing the belligerents to-day. Now it was my opportunity to spend some two years in Germany. I went there in February, 1915, as a correspondent, and it is almost needless to say that at that time I sympathized with Germany or I would not have been sent there. However, when the Lusitania was sunk, and after I had made my first trip to the front, I changed my ideas and for the remaining eighteen or twenty months I had the distinction of being known in Germany as anti-German. This was a very uncomfortable position, but I believed so firmly that the German Government and military leaders had to be defeated that I spoke of it to almost everyone that I met.

Now, before I tell you some of my answers to Mr. Wells and Dr. Eliot, I want to sketch briefly the developments in Germany which led up to the resignation of Von Capelle as Minister of Marine, and the agitation for the recall of Michaelis. There are in Germany to-day two parties. There is what we may call the War Party. This party is led by the Imperial family, by the military leaders, by the ammunition interests, by some financiers, by a great many men who have been making enormous fortunes out of the war, and by newspapers which this war party has subsidized. On the other side is a very strong democratic party, which unfortunately has no great, prominent leaders, but which to my mind is much stronger among the people than the war party. This liberal or democratic party in Germany is made up I should say of ninety-nine per cent. of the women, of the great majority of the soldiers, of a greater majority of German workmen, and also some of the big business interests; although they cannot

publicly support a democratic party, because their businesses have been confiscated during the war and they are in danger of losing everything if they too openly sympathize with the democratic movement. Now there have been times when this democratic party was so strong in Germany that many of us believed that it would succeed in establishing at least a responsible ministry, that is a ministry responsible to the Reichstag.

Now, President Wilson is often, or was often criticised for his policy toward Germany. May I point out to you what I believe Mr. Wilson was succeeding in doing, or at least seeking to accomplish? Mr. Wilson was told by a great many German leaders—and if you knew the names you would be surprised—that if at various times he would press his indictment against the Government for its submarine warfare and Belgian policy, it would strengthen the democratic movement; but if at the wrong moment he broke relations with Germany the democratic movement would be absolutely lost. For almost eighteen months Mr. Wilson pursued a policy of trying to draw a distinction in the public mind, which is a very difficult thing to do, between a Government responsible for its acts and a people who had no means of expressing their ideas. If you know Germany at all you know that the Reichstag to-day is made up of men elected in 1912, two years before the war broke out. In almost every election held in Germany for members in the Reichstag since, socialists have been returned. You know, if you know the organization of the German Government, that in peace and war time the Bundesrath, or Upper House, has practically complete legislative authority. The Upper House is made up of over fifty members. They are appointed by the Kings and rulers of the various German States. The King of Prussia alone can appoint twenty members of this body; but the most important thing is a clause in the Constitution which says that fourteen votes in the Bundesrath should be sufficient to defeat any measure. The Kaiser controlling twenty votes can defeat any measure at any time. Throughout the war the political leaders have gone to the leaders of the parties in the Bundesrath and said: "Now you must support this measure because the military authorities need it," and the Bundesrath being made up of men

chosen two years before the war, men who have supported and will continue to support the Government until the crisis comes, does just what it is told to do. When the United States broke off diplomatic relations and declared war, President Wilson was forced to do this despite the clamoring of these democratic forces in Germany, because he saw that, although the democratic movement was very powerful it had no leaders, and no means of expressing its ideas and desires, so that there was only one thing to do. That was to help the Allies to defeat the military organization which prevents democracy in Germany, and which has sought to destroy democracy throughout the world.

Now, at the present time, we know that there is a small party in the United States—and I suppose the same is true here—which feels that the time has come to think about peace. Suppose that we were, for the sake of argument, to accept the suggestion of Dr. Eliot that we hold a Peace Conference. Who would appoint the delegates from the enemy countries? The German Constitution says that the Kaiser shall have the power to make war and to make peace. If we are to have an informal, unofficial conference with the enemy then we must discuss terms with delegates appointed by one man. Mr. Wells says that the reasonable men of the world have reached the point where they are willing at least to think about peace. My friends, I think that perhaps down in the hearts of everyone of us there is a longing for peace, but not for peace at this time. Suppose that we were to ask Austria Hungary to send delegates to a conference and Turkey and Bulgaria to send delegates. To-day the German Government controls absolutely the Governments of Turkey, Bulgaria and Austria Hungary. The crisis of some months ago in Budapesth, when Count Tisza was forced out of office, led people wrongly to believe that the democratic forces were in control of Hungary. My friends, Count Tisza has always been, or at least throughout the war has been, anti-German. He has withheld everything from Germany that Germany has asked from Hungary throughout the war. When Germany invaded Roumania Germany asked Hungary for control of the Hungarian Railroads, and the Count refused. A year or so ago he went to Berlin, invited to attend a conference. He was asked to

permit Germany to obtain some of the food which Hungary had. Again he refused. When he was put out of office and his successor named it was done for one purpose and one alone, and that was to give Germany absolute control of food and railroads in that country. The other thing was a blind, the impression given to the outside world that the democratic party in Hungary had succeeded.

Now, if we were to discuss peace with the enemy we would have to discuss peace with delegates named by the man who gave the order to violate Belgian neutrality and who, after two years, threw the United States into the war. He is to-day initiating in every country the movement for peace, because he and the military party know that the sooner they make peace now the better terms they will get, and the longer the war is prolonged the less they will get out of it. Years ago, when I was in college, I had a very strong connection with some peace parties in the United States. I felt that the time should never come when there should be another war. Sometimes, when I was on the battlefields of Europe I wondered what it was that made it possible for great nations so to disagree that they had to fight to come to an agreement. Then in Russia and Roumania I have strolled across the battlefields shortly after engagements and I have wondered again what it was that compelled human beings to sacrifice their lives in a great combat. But when I returned to Berlin, when I saw that it was not the will of these poor soldiers but the will of one Government that had precipitated this combat, I saw why the world had to fight to make the world safe for democracy; I saw that there was one Government which threatened the freedom of the whole world; I saw, as I think the world sees it to-day, that as long as we have an irresponsible Government controlling and deceiving and murdering its own citizens to lead it to an autocratic goal, the democratic nations of the world have to fight for their own liberty.

My friends, it is a serious thing for any man to face any audience and urge men to lay down their lives for a great cause; but to my mind there is something greater than life itself, and that is liberty. When we fight to-day to defeat that one Government, that one group of military leaders, we fight for something greater than our lives, for the liberty of all

countries and of the world. My friends, we cannot think of peace to-day. Our peace preparations must be preparations for war. We must fight until we can talk peace with honor and dignity, with the people or with the chosen representatives of the people of enemy countries. The peace treaty signed after this great war will be signed in the blood of allied citizens, and the water mark will be the tears of the women and children, who have suffered more than any of us. That treaty will be the greatest document in history, because it will not only conclude this war, but—let us pray God—will make it impossible for any group of men ever again to bring the world, or any of the countries of the world, to the point where citizens must sacrifice themselves to accomplish what is greater than life, and that is liberty.

(October 22nd, 1917).

## AMERICA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR.

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By the HON. JAMES M. BECK.

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MAY I salute you as my fellow-citizens? That is no unmeaning phrase. As long as our soldiers are fighting shoulder to shoulder in the trenches, as long as our women behind the lines are giving to the great cause the very treasures of their souls, as long as our statesmen co-operate to the common end of vindicating the principles of civilization, as long as our flags are intertwined, as long as this war lasts, there is created to the eye of the imagination a new state to which I venture to give the title—the “United Free States of the World;” and of that state we are all, of France, of Russia, of Great Britain, of the United States and of Italy, fellow-citizens. I am aware that to the juridical mind the technical accuracy of the phrase might be questioned, because this new State has no common sovereign power. If I must therefore modify my salutation I will venture to greet you with an even nobler phrase, and in doing so I find my justification in the flaming verse of that master of the English language, who from his grave in that little chancel by the smooth-flowing Avon still dominates the imagination of the English-speaking world. You will remember that Shakespeare made his Henry the Fifth, that fine type of the chivalry of the Anglo-Saxon race, say to his men, as they gathered about him on the eventful eve of Agincourt:

“We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;  
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me  
Shall be my brother.”

That sense of brotherhood will, I venture to predict, long

survive the exigencies of the mighty conflict that called it into existence, for I believe—and I would have little hope for the future of the world if I did not believe—that that sense of brotherhood, which now welds together all the allied nations that have shed their blood in the common cause, will be lasting. The future of the world depends upon it.

Between the Dominion of Canada and its neighbor south of the St. Lawrence the tie is especially close, for we are in a peculiar sense brethren. We are the common heirs of the great ideals of the Mother Empire, that great and noble mother of democracy. We are the common heirs of a great continent, I venture to say the fairest that God's sun shines upon, and we are—although you have not always claimed your share of the heritage, and we have, as is probably the way with my people, appropriated an undue share of it—the common heirs to a great name, greater than its present restricted meaning. We are "Americans," and I want to emphasize that thought because it contains within it an inspiration. You know that the origin of the word "American" is explained to the schoolboy as coming from the name Amerigo Vesputius, but what was its original derivation? It comes from two Gothic words, "Amal," which means work, and "Ric," which means to conquer. Amalaric became Americus. "All conquering work," that is what America means, and in that great inspiration of the "work that conquers," Canadians and citizens of the United States have an equal heritage.

It was my pleasure to address the kindly audience of the Canadian Club within these four walls in 1915. I came here under circumstances of peculiar delicacy and embarrassment. I could not at that time speak my whole mind, but that which I did say to you then came from my heart. I am pleased to think that some among you still remember the prediction that I then made and made elsewhere, not merely in Canada but also in England, that if you would but trust the innate sense of right of the American people, that you would not be disappointed; and that leads me to say just a word as to my country in the last six months. In doing so I want you to accept from me a disclaimer of any suggestion of boastfulness. How could an American boast as to what he or his

country has done in this titanic conflict, in the presence of all that Great Britain and France have done in pouring out their blood and treasure like water and bearing the heat and burden of the day? Do not think, if I say possibly for your encouragement a few words as to the wholehearted and ungrudging way in which the United States is now in this war, that I am indulging in any boastful self-complacency.

In the first place, considering what we have done by a standard that admits of some accurate appraisement in figures, let me remind you that the whole civilized world was staggered in 1870 when Germany, setting its ruthless heel on France, imposed upon it in the hope of crippling it for a whole generation, an indemnity of one billion dollars. Well, the "wheel has come full circle," and the United States, out of its great wealth, has already placed at the disposal of the allied nations, chiefly France, seven times the indemnity that Germany wrung out of France. Of this authorized sum, nearly three billions have been paid. One single American Congress has already appropriated, in the vindication of our common cause, twenty-one thousand millions of dollars. It is true that we are a prodigally rich nation; but let me remind you that the entire wealth of the United States, of all classes and descriptions, amounts to two hundred and fifty billion dollars, and therefore the stupendous fact is that in six months the United States, without whining or complaining and in no respect grudgingly or reluctantly, has appropriated nearly one-tenth of its entire capital wealth to the common cause.

If I stop there you might accuse me of treating the subject in a sordid way. Let me therefore simply remind you that hardly had we entered the lists than the flower of our regular army was sent to France. Ten millions of our youth responded, were enrolled for service and of these we have already one million in the training camp. Our soldiers are proceeding to France from every Atlantic port, including Canadian ports. I do not know how many are now in France, but I know an army is there greater than Lee had at Gettysburg, or Napoleon commanded at Waterloo. For them I have only one wish to express, and I could not wish for those boys a higher or a better wish, that they, the boys who represent the United States, may acquit themselves in their ordeal of battle as

bravely and heroically as the Canadians did, who held the "thin red line" at Ypres, and captured the ridges at Vimy and Messines. You have shown us how to fight and we will tread with you the path of glory and will, I trust, not be unworthy of this great common heritage of land and name to which I have just referred.

But there is something deeper than that. I have travelled in the last six months in a country that six months or more ago was severed by the most bitter internal strife. Prior to our going into the war, the United States was a seething cauldron of dissension. A more bitter feeling prevailed among Americans than has ever existed in my country since the Civil War. This was the feeling that preceded our entry into the war, and lo, a miracle has come to pass, a miracle which I ventured to predict in the very darkest hours by saying that if America were only true to its ideals, no matter how heterogeneous our population may be, no matter how vast the area over which it is scattered, they would be, as they are now, in fact as in name, the United States of America.

Everywhere that I have been—and I have faced audiences west of the Mississippi as well as south of Mason's and Dixon's line—I have found, if I am able to diagnose so complex an attitude as that of a heterogeneous people, that the American people as a whole have accepted ungrudgingly the inevitable sacrifices that they will now be called upon to make, that they have a sturdy and I trust invincible determination to see this war to a successful conclusion, even though it take the last man and the last penny.

If I were to make any qualification as to the attitude of the American people, I would say this, and this is the principal theme to which I want to address myself; but let me say that what is true of the American democracy is only too true of all democracies, which have as one of their weaknesses a certain excess of sentimentality. The one drawback to the splendid feeling that now prevails in America is an undue optimism as to the possibilities of an early and conclusive triumph.

We are living in the most fateful hour of the greatest crisis in civilization. No man can tell, no matter how prophetic he is, the events of a single twenty-four hours. Those of you who remember Sir Henry Irving in the Corsican Brothers

will remember that last scene when the two duellists stand, each with a dagger in his hand, the wrist of each held by his antagonist, every ounce of energy thrown into that attempt to wrench free the hand that holds the dagger in order to end the conflict. That does express, in a visual way, the situation between the two great belligerent groups of powers; and that man does not reason wisely who thinks that this war is already won, or that there can be the slightest abatement of the most tremendous efforts we can make to bring it to a conclusive end. If there be men unduly optimistic I think it would be well for them to take up Macaulay's Frederick the Great and read of the last great world war, which raged over the world, as far as the Ganges and the Great Lakes of the West. The coalition against Prussia had a population of one hundred millions and that of Prussia numbered only four millions five hundred thousand. After five years, after some triumphs, the power of Prussia steadily lessened until this arrogant marauder seemed on its knees. The grass grew in the streets of Berlin, the cradle and the grave were robbed to put the old and the young into the ranks. Money and credit were exhausted. In the fifth year of that war, when Frederick the Great had been crushed in the battle of Kunersdorf, and his army fled, he reached a cabin where he threw himself on a pallet of straw, confident that the end had come for him and his dynasty. He sent word for the royal family to flee from Potsdam and announced his intention to commit suicide. But what happened? Russia crumbled—an empire changed hands. Russia withdrew from the great alliance. England and France then made up their quarrel and one of the conditions of their peace was that each should become neutral. Out of an apparent defeat, far more apparent than the defeat of Prussia at the present time, there came the prestige of the house of Hohenzollern that has since immeasurably cursed the world.

Let us take a lesson from that analogy. Let us not be too confident as to what will happen this week or month or year to come. It is the part of wisdom for the Allies to recognize as a reasonable probability that this war within twelve months will end either in a conclusive victory for them or the exhaustion of all the nations engaged in it. In other words, it may be necessary for us to win within twelve

months, for if not there may result a stalemate not unlike that which ended the Seven Years' War, and in such direful event the Kaiser will come out of this titanic struggle with the prestige born of the fact that he had held at bay three-quarters of the world. What would happen then? The whole balance of world power would be destroyed. Just as the magnet draws the filings to itself, so the House of Hohenzollern would draw to itself the residuum of all the political power of the neutral nations. Even France might become a moral vassal of Prussia. You may accuse me of being wanting in respect to France by even a suggestion of such a thing, but I speak on authority. On the 14th of July last Poincaré said in substance that if France should not win this war it would become a political, economic and moral vassal of Prussia. The danger is so great that the mind staggers at the thought of it.

Now is the accepted time, this, the day of salvation. All hopes of any other time may be vain and illusory. *There may be no next time.* It is possible that we must win now or we shall not win within the life of anyone sitting here.

Suppose Italy should be troubled with internal discord or suffer a great reverse. Suppose France, exhausted by the suffering of the civil population, should weaken; or suppose, by one of these flukes of history, the great naval power of England, one of the most beneficent forces of the world, should suffer a disaster.

Suppose German super-submarines greater than any yet constructed should snap the ties of transportation that bind Great Britain to the United States, and the Dominion of Canada. Suppose Russia should have, under the Prussian bayonet, a new Government imposed upon it at Petrograd, and its granaries became accessible to Germany, and all German and Austrian prisoners in Russia were released by a nation that might make a separate peace and become neutral. All these possibilities—and who can ignore them?—should be as spurs when an undue optimism causes us to flag in our efforts. It is, I repeat, and I repeat it with all the earnestness of which I am capable, this which is the fateful hour of the greatest moral crisis of civilization. We should strive to win within the next twelve months, if we give our last man and

our last penny, because if we do not ultimately win civilization will be a hell, a hell in which the rule of reason will be gone forever and a reign of terror substituted. International law will be a travesty between nations, and comity between nations will be a joke. It will be a hell in which the Hohenzollern dynasty, like Satan, would rule "by merit raised to that bad eminence."

What I have just said may seem to you as unduly pessimistic. I do not mean it as such. I have a confident belief that we have already cornered the Hohenzollern beast and it only remains to cage him. If we do not relax our efforts I have little doubt as to the ultimate triumph of our arms. I am only calling attention to the possibilities that should nerve our strength to greater efforts than we have yet made.

There must not be, when the victory is won with such a sacrifice of blood and treasure, any misplaced magnanimity that would strip us of the just fruits of our victory. Let us take as text upon that point a saying of Prince Bismarck, who was the greatest, the wisest and meanest of his time. However machiavellian his political morality, he was a far-seeing statesman. In 1888, when an attack was planned on France—to his credit be it recalled that he discountenanced and prevented it—he said in substance that if Germany proceeded to attack France, the weight of the imponderables would be against her, which weigh more heavy than the ponderables. "*Holy Russia will rise, France will bristle with bayonets, and the same thing will happen everywhere.*" It is to this distinction of the great statesman between the "imponderables" and the "ponderables" to which I want finally to address myself. The ponderables are the things that are concrete, the things you can weigh, that admit of a precise statement. Treaties of peace are ponderables, and of all the illusions of fatuous man the greatest is that a piece of parchment in itself can bring about the peace of the world. The exchange of territory is a ponderable, but no exchange of territory ever yet brought about in itself the peace of the world. There was a fundamental error committed in the Seven Years' War. The greatest of the Hohenzollerns, Frederick the Great, should have been crushed then. If the coalition against him had not

broken up before completing its work, this war would never have been. When a felony—like the rape of Silesia—is committed and condoned in the world of God's Universe without the penalty being paid, not only he who commits it but the man or nation that compounds it feels the grinding of the mills of God. The exchange of territory is a mere ponderable, of some value certainly, but merely incidental to the peace problem, because you can have a reciprocal return of all the captured territory, according to the plans of a Stockholm Conference, and you would not be an inch nearer the problem of a just and durable peace. So with mere forms of Government. It is very easy to attach undue importance to them. The peace of the world might be as safe in the hands of an empire under the Kaiser, as in the hands of a German Republic under Hindenburg or von Tirpitz. Pope's old couplet contains a half-truth:

"For forms of government let fools contest,  
What'er is best administered is best."

Let me now speak of the imponderables. There are two alone to which I shall refer.

The first is the psychology of the Prussian government. Unless we can break its spirit of arrogant and unscrupulous conceit all that has been done is in vain. In other words, if we permit this war to end in a manner that is gratifying to its pride, if it comes out of this titanic war in a boastful spirit of having at least drawn a battle against three-quarters of the world, it will have in a magnified form the pride of the people of Frederick the Great, infinitely multiplied by having gained a "moral victory" out of the struggle. When a bully starts to bully the world, there is only one thing to do and that is to thrash the bully and thrash him thoroughly. He must be in no doubt as to who is the victor. Bismarck knew the weight of this imponderable. When he had crushed France and had finally starved out the women and children of Paris, what did he do? When France said to him—"you have crushed us; you have robbed us of our Provinces. Spare us the humiliation of the entry into Paris, be magnanimous enough not to inflict that sorrow upon us in our hour of tragic grief," Bismarck would not listen to the suggestion. He desired that the people of Paris should have no illusions.

In this war, even if it be a victory for the Allies, they must not stop on the Western bank of the Rhine. The insensate vanity of Prussia is such it will boast of a victory if the conqueror forbears to invade Germany. The Allies should, before this war is ended, as one of the conditions of peace, and as a most salient lesson, march through the Brandenburger Gate and down the Unter den Linden, and stack their arms in front of the Palace from whose balcony the Kaiser preached this war.

And there is an imponderable greater than this one of breaking the arrogant spirit of a ruthless foe. The greatest imponderable of this war is justice, and unless there be retributive justice the dead that sleep the last sleep will have died in vain. If this war should end with any mawkish expression of magnanimity, if there should be a feeling that this was all a regrettable mistake, if ordinary intercourse between nations is resumed as though this epoch-making war had not been, there will be a vacuum in the moral law of civilization. Retributive justice demands that the men who have violated the laws of the world with respect to the rules of war, the men who have made of international law a travesty, the men who have set back the hands on the dial of civilization in the twentieth century, who have surpassed the barbarity of Rome, who have violated women, tortured our prisoners, burned villages, exacted shameful indemnities from already pillaged people, bombarded the sacred edifices of God in a spirit of pure wantonness, violated oaths, ignored the symbol of the Red Cross, they must be tried and must be punished. Let me put one concrete instance. Those Prussians von Bissing and von Haesler, who took Edith Cavell, who had done nothing more than help fugitive soldiers out of the great maternal spirit that animates all women, and shot her like a dog in the dead of night and in violation of a solemn promise given to the American Legation—ought their kind to walk the streets of London, of Paris, or even of Berlin? Are they to appear decorated with the evidence of their crime in the Orders from the Imperial Master? Would not God frown upon the world if these men were not put up against the very wall where Edith Cavell was shot and given the same treatment? Whatever else may be waived, whatever constructive work may be attempted to restore fraternity among nations, when the

great problems of peace present themselves, the Hohenzollerns must go. We have had enough of the spirit of Frederick the Great in his successors. Napoleon said at St. Helena that he made the mistake of his life when he permitted the Hohenzollerns to continue on the throne of Prussia; and it is inconceivable to me that Great Britain and the United States and France would permit, after a million of their sons are sleeping the last sleep between the Channel and the Vosges, this Emperor to continue on the throne he has dishonored. It is possible the German people, in whom there may be a "saving remnant," may save the allied nations any trouble on this score.

I have detained you far too long (cries of "go on! go on!") and I will resist the temptation to speak of other imponderables, but as you bid me go on I will speak of just one more imponderable that can never be forgotten, and that is that the world cannot allow this war to end until France shall be given a reward for the full measure of her knightly devotion to the cause of civilization. There never was a more heroic decision in history than France made on the first of August, 1914. She knew that she had only one chance in ten of surviving the impact of the mighty armies that would be rushed against her. If I had time I could give you many reasons for my statement of the terrible odds against a country which to the very last moment, by reason of political considerations, could not adequately prepare for the impact, although its enemies were preparing for a tigerlike spring across the frontier as early as July 23rd. On July 24th the French Ambassador at Petrograd telegraphed to Viviani in Paris that the threat against Serbia meant war and asked France whether she would stand beside her ally, and within one hour the fateful word went back that France would respect her obligations and would stake her very existence to keep its plighted word. For us to permit this war to end without France, poor, bleeding France, receiving the full reward not only for its sacrifice in this war, but for all that it has suffered since 1870—and I think the moral torture of those years even greater than the torture she is now suffering—would be a ghastly injustice. Think of the humiliation that France endured when at the demand of Prussia in 1905 she was obliged to dismiss her Minister, Delcassé, or have war. Think, if Canada and

Germany were at peace and Germany threatened to make war on you unless you dismissed your Premier—and yet that is exactly what was done to France in 1905, and her sense of weakness was such she was obliged to accept that shame rather than have war with a country so much stronger than she was. France took her brave stand and England flung across the channel a contingent so rapidly that I who crossed it on August 8th saw the detachments crossing the Channel. I saw portions of the first seven divisions marching through the streets of Winchester by night and they saw the sun rise from the northern coast of France. France, with the aid of the “contemptible little army” of England, as the Kaiser called it, stood her ground and the credit of the Marne is due in part to the valor of your men who at Mons for two days and two nights held back a foe fourfold greater than its own, and only retreated because the order of a great French commander required a re-alignment further south. The armies of France and England, now forever immortal in history, as undying in their fame as other heroic episodes, which in former days have been schoolboy tales, accomplished a miracle in beating back a nation which had five hundred thousand more soldiers in the ranks than they had. And they paid the penalty. One hundred and fifty thousand men were killed and wounded on the Marne. When I was visiting the battlefield of the Marne I went into a little church at Revigny, and there on the wall were some names, surrounded by a wreath, and the words: “To the children of Revigny, who died for their country.” And I thought the victims were little village children and I wondered what barbarity had been inflicted upon them; but as I left Revigny, and motored to Verdun, I would occasionally stop and go into the graveyards in the harvest fields, and on many, many of the crosses I read the name of the soldier, and then followed: “Un enfant de France, mort pour la Patrie.” The beautiful sentiment of the French nation is in that phrase. To them France is the mother and when the boy dies in the ranks the great mother takes him forever to her maternal bosom and the boy goes to his last sleep with the thought that he has done something to defend his mother, France. That spirit has saved civilization. If France had weakened, the German

mastership of the world would be assured. And so I say the imponderable of justice, an imponderable as great as the necessity of exorcising the spirit of Prussia, would bid Great Britain and the United States say that they will never spare their efforts to give relief and salvation to this noble, heroic, chivalrous, indeed godlike nation.

Just one more word. Have I cast in any sense a doubt or a spirit of depression over this audience? If so I am heartily sorry. I think we are wise in looking facts in the face. If I have, let me finish in a word of cheer, and here again I would have recourse to the flaming spirit of Shakespeare. You will remember on the eve of Bosworth Field the great poet puts into the mouth of his Richmond this picture of Richard III, which very aptly describes the Hohenzollern:

"The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,  
That spoils your summer fields and fruitful vines,  
Swills your warm blood like wash and makes his trough  
In your embowelled bosoms."

Then follow the words of cheer, with which I would like to leave this gathering, for whose hospitable reception my heart's gratitude goes out to you:—

"In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,  
To reap the harvest of perpetual peace  
By this one bloody trial of sharp war."

(November, 5, 1917)

## A KHAKI UNIVERSITY

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By PRESIDENT H. M. TORY

*Of the University of Alberta.*

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I CONFESS to feeling a slight embarrassment in coming to speak to you to-day for the reason that you expected to hear Sir Robert Borden and not an ordinary University Professor. It is a fact, however, that we are living in a world, in an age, when the despised University Professor of twenty years ago is coming to his own. It is a fact also that even as late as 1912 the chief argument used against the now President of the United States in the election campaigns was that he was not a man of the world—he was a mere University Professor. But times have changed since that day. The Prime Minister of France is a University Professor; the Prime Minister of Italy is a University Professor, and for the first time in the history of the British Empire there is a University Professor at the head of the Education Department in England. This is the first time that the man at the head of the Education Department really had any professional experience.

Well, gentlemen, when your President asked me to speak to you to-day, I waited until I got to the City of Toronto (I was travelling at the time) and I called him on the long distance phone and he was so urgent that I had not the heart to refuse him; and I thought you might be interested, and I hoped to be free to tell you something about, a plan that has been in the minds of a few of us for some time, with respect to the education of the soldiers in England and France during the demobilization period.

Last year, Major Birks, the head of the Young Men's Christian Association in England, was here; and, gentlemen, I would just like to say this word—your applause indicates an

appreciation on your part of a man who is a credit to the city of Montreal and to Canada. There is pride in the armies of France and England in the work that has been achieved under his direction. When he was here in the spring he came to see me, and he said he had been conscious for some time that probably there was a place for some intellectual effort of a more organized kind in the army than was then being carried on, for promoting thought and interest among the men during their leisure hours. He said that not having had the necessary educational experience he was anxious that the matter should be studied, and he asked me to go to England for that purpose. I confess going to England was not a very attractive thing then—it is not very attractive now, but it was less attractive in the spring than at present. I had a feeling that one should not put oneself in the way of crossing the ocean and using food and ship space on the way over unless he had a very important mission. Well, Major Birks impressed me with the fact that it was really worth while and I consented to go. When I first landed in England I spent three weeks quietly around the army areas in England and the camps, going in and out among the men, attending their meetings, listening to their discussions, seeing the significance and meaning of the Y.M.C.A. there, becoming acquainted, as far as that was possible among so many thousands, with the things they were thinking about, to see whether I could make up my mind whether an educational effort on a big scale would be valuable, if it were possible to carry it out. In various ways, by consultations with the men, by meeting groups of men and talking with them, it grew upon me that it was not only possible to organize an educational effort among the men, but that it would meet a need of which the men themselves were becoming conscious. The glamor of the early days of the war had passed away, the daily routine had made its mark upon the lives of the men, and their minds were naturally turning once again to the problems of their ordinary life, and they were wondering when they were going to come back and how they were going to come back. After studying the matter for a time in England I was fortunate enough to get permission to go to France. My time there was extended from ten days to three weeks, so I had an opportunity of going about among the camps in France,

talking to a great many of the men. For the first time I started talking to them publicly. I met their officers in rifle practice, and associated myself as intimately as possible with men and officers. The impression that the time was ripe for something to be done in France grew upon me, but I did not want to make up my mind definitely, so I went back to England, and I finally came to the conclusion there that I could prepare a programme that would be useful both for the time now when the war is on, and more so for the work of the future.

The impression in England was then that demobilization was not as far off as it looked to be, and there seemed to be need for immediate action if we were to have time to make the necessary preparation to do any sort of definite, concrete work. A scheme was therefore planned and is now in operation in England and France, broadly speaking as follows. Lectures are being given in all the camps in England and in France, a regular, organized system of popular lectures dealing with the subjects which I believed the men would be interested in. A great deal of interest was manifested in the study of the local history of the places where they were. In France there was a great demand for the story of the Somme Valley, its history was a fascinating study to the men. Then there is discussion on the war, not in the sense in which we discuss it here, but of the campaign of the war. This was of intense interest. Then I found them most interested in things about home. When I first spoke before a body of soldiers in one of the Y.M.C.A. tents in France, well at first I simply felt I could not speak to them. As I looked upon that body of men, knowing what they had been through, I felt that my words would be very poor words to utter to them, so I said: "Men, I don't know what to talk about, but I should like to tell you something about home if you would like to hear about it." And they nearly took the roof off. The deepest thought in the minds of the men is the thought of Canada and the people at home and the homeland and the love they bear for it, every hour getting stronger as the horrors of war go on. I was the only man they had seen for a year in civilian clothes, so I got a great reception, and I went on: "Another thing I feel is that you men have no desire to go home until you have finished the job you set out to do," and I got exactly the same kind of

applause. In planning our work, therefore, we planned not only studies of a historical character but some relating to war, a group of studies relating to the British Empire, and to the problems that are now agitating the minds of the people of Canada, with lantern slides and the finest lecturers that could be obtained in England. They are going on in England and they will soon be started in the camps in France. Then, in addition to that, I saw there was a need for one other thing, that men should have the privilege of getting together in groups for the study of actual subjects in which they were interested.

Two hundred men in camp one afternoon came together as a result of a religious meeting. Five hundred men had attended this meeting, and I asked the speaker if he would ask that men who would be willing to meet me and talk about their life in Canada after the war should remain after the meeting. Two hundred men remained. I did not want to get discussing the matter with them in an impulsive way, so I said: "Now, I will come back this day week, in the afternoon after you are through with your day's work, and we will talk matters over then," and I proposed to them this question: "How many of you would be willing from now to the end of the war, and after demobilization begins, to begin consistent and consecutive studies?" When I came back I found that every man of that two hundred was willing. I wanted to find out what course they would be particularly interested in, so I asked how many would be interested in an intensive course in agriculture, and sixty men signified their interest; and I asked them to meet me outside, as I wanted to be sure that I was dealing with serious men. Then I asked how many men were thinking of religious work after they got back, and I found forty men and I turned them over to Captain Clarence MacKinnon and he dealt with them. And so I went through the list, and every man had something definite that he wanted to study now during the time of the war and particularly after, when the long idle days had begun and they were waiting to get home. Out of the sixty men who wished to study agriculture I found that forty had been born on farms in Canada, had lived on the land until they were about seventeen or so, had then gone into the towns and villages and cities of Ontario and the West, and then had gone to the war. They had a

feeling that they could not go back to the occupations they had before the war; they did not want to go back to the office and the store. They said: "If we could get an opportunity to prepare ourselves for farming on a scientific basis, and could be sure provision would be made to settle us properly on the land, that is exactly the thing we are looking for." I was exceedingly anxious to find out whether that was a common feeling in the army, and I asked the Y.M.C.A. captain in that camp if he would detail an officer to meet the men of one brigade and ask them to give him a statement of what they wished to do and make up the statistics for me. I said: "Do not hurry, but take plenty of time to do it and send me a cable when you get the information." Three days ago I received some information. It is a long job examining personally four thousand men, particularly when they are on duty from 5 o'clock in the morning until 4.30 in the afternoon. However, he had examined 1,875 men, nearly half of the brigade, and out of that 1,875, 1,360 expressed a desire to have educational work undertaken for their benefit during the demobilization period, and they gave assurances that they would attend classes. Let us be conservative and say that fifty per cent. of the men would be willing to put themselves under tuition, and somewhere between thirty or fifty per cent. were willing to put themselves under intensive instruction looking to some definite occupation. Since I came away the question of group study has received our attention and we have made a plan; then the whole matter was left with MacKinnon to make it a permanent thing. I have word to-day that about a thousand men are organized in classes. Forty men have been taken from the army, men who were teachers, schoolmasters, etc., men from the chaplain service, and these forty men are engaged in teaching every night in the week in that camp alone, and there are a thousand men in the classes. Matters have become so complicated in that camp that they have had to organize a sort of faculty, and a cable came to me recently through Mr. Birks which pretty nearly said: "Tell Tory to hurry back, we are in need of help." We felt the need, also, of proper library facilities for the men, and before I left we had arranged to put a library in every hut in England and in France, in every army area. During the winter fifty to one hundred

thousand books will be made available in these areas. Also any man coming and asking for a book—and the call for books during the last six months has been very great—any man who wants to get a particular book can come and ask for it, and it will be made available to him on the shortest possible notice. I had word yesterday from the man who is looking after this phase of the work and he said, "We are searching for books and dealing with the applications that are coming in, and we are so overwhelmed that it is impossible for me to give proper supervision to the work at all."

That gives you a general idea of what is being done, under the direction of the Y.M.C.A., helped out by the Chaplain service, and a willing hand being lent to it by every officer of the army who is interested in the welfare of his men. But the larger scheme that seemed to grow upon me was the idea of planning for the demobilization period, and I put it to myself somewhat in this way. If we could bring to bear on these men during that period the educational forces in the army and in Canada, establishing in their camps the equivalent of one of our modern universities, a sort of Khaki University, as Mr. MacKinnon suggested, for those who want to do intensive study in one area, and carrying out our work in an Extension Department in all areas, it would not only be good for the men in that trying period, but it would have lasting significance for them in relation to the problems of the home life after the war. So I set myself to prepare a plan which could be made useful to them. It involves the suggestions I have made in the report I have handed to Major Birks, suggestions that came from my intimate relations with the men. The suggestions involve in the first place the establishment of an agricultural college. If we can plan in England an agricultural college that would handle five to ten thousand men, we would be doing a work equivalent to five years' work in all the agricultural colleges of Canada put together. I am informed that there are forty thousand farmers in our army and not five per cent. of them have ever seen the inside of an agricultural college. If we could bring to bear upon ten per cent. of those men intensive work and a broad course of training, a work would be accomplished equivalent to five years' work in every agricultural college in Canada put together. Then I want a

college for instruction in business. I find hundreds of men in one brigade alone wishing to take up practical business training, and sixty men did organize themselves into a class to study shorthand, typewriting, commercial geography, business arithmetic, business correspondence, etc. Scores of men have started in business only having had a common school education, and they are anxious to use this time to improve themselves. A man who had been the head of a commercial college in Canada, in the city of Toronto, and who is now in the army, has been asked to organize ways and methods of dealing with problems of that sort. I asked him, with the permission of his superior officer, if he would undertake the work, and he is doing so, and we intend to extend and intensify that programme during the demobilization period. Then we must have some provision for men who wish to prepare to enter or to go back to the university. Scores of men, boys from McGill and my own university and other universities, feel that everything they have ever learned has gone out of their brains, and they are wondering how they are ever to get back to their studies, and I asked them if they would take the opportunity, if it were given to them, and you can imagine the response. I am confident that we can redeem the remnant of the army of young men of that category if we would put in an intensive programme for them and go to it in the right spirit.

There is a great work to be done in organizing these groups of men and bringing to bear upon them all the intellectual force we have at our command, making them realize that they must not take a lower line of life than they had planned for themselves at first. We must restore them to the attitude of mind where they will have hope for the future. So I went through the series of things that might be done. There is a large body of men who had only partly finished the University course; for to the credit of the Canadian boys be it said that the universities and colleges emptied themselves into the army almost at the beginning. They are the finest young men in Canada and I asked them, man after man, whether they would be willing to engage and carry forward such work as I proposed and they said they would be only glad of the opportunity. In my scheme all such subjects as

history and economics, etc., can be readily undertaken, and where it is necessary for men to have laboratory work I am confident that the universities of England will be open for them. It seemed to me that the programme was so large,—it grew upon me as I thought of the various groups of men that could be dealt with—that I said to Major Birks, “this is a job for the universities of Canada, and I am going to approach them and see if they would not undertake this thing as an educational programme.” I have not met a single rebuff. I have discussed the matter with Sir William Peterson and I do not suppose he would like me to say that he would commit himself, but I have his assurance that everything in his power he will do, and of all the teachers I have spoken to there was not one who did not say to me: “We will be glad to do anything at all in the interests of the men overseas,” and I know that teachers will be at our disposal. That is the kind of message I have from all the universities, McGill, Toronto, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and all. But this is a very big problem, and the question came up, if the universities are willing, would the Government be willing to co-operate? On Saturday a deputation consisting of your Chairman, Dr. Frank Adams, Mr. Woods, the National Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., and myself waited on Sir Robert Borden and put before him the plan and I cannot tell you how heartily he acquiesced in the suggestions, and gave us the assurance that so far as the Government of Canada was concerned it would have its most cordial co-operation, but of course military necessities must be considered first. That is the position we are in to-day.

The plan is that we should organize the equivalent of a Board of Governors, representing the Universities of Canada, and having on it representation of the Y.M.C.A. who gave the original suggestion, men from McGill, Toronto and Western Universities, a group of men who will be the equivalent of the ordinary governing body, an educational committee composed of the principals of our great universities. These men having been approached have all of them expressed their willingness to go overseas and help out with the task when the time comes. The plan has not yet been launched, it has only been outlined. There is a large piece of work yet to be done in creating the machinery by which it can be organized. I have

put before myself six problems to be faced. First there was the question of facilities, and I have the assurance that all the machinery available in England now for the purpose of giving instruction to officers would be made accessible to us. In addition to that an Extension Department, organized on a more definite and wider basis than our own, will carry out lectures and instruction in every camp, thus relieving the men from some of the monotony of military life. Then I have the assurance of the army that the men in the army who are teachers will be made available for that purpose if they are willing to serve. I have the assurance of every such man in the army that they would be willing to be transferred for this service during any period. So I feel that that question is fairly well met. Then the question of equipment has to be faced. Fortunately, London is the center of the bookstores and educational equipment of the world almost, and it seemed to me that it would be an easy matter to get the necessary equipment for carrying out the programme in the way I have outlined to you. Then there is the question of cost. I do not like to say much about the cost, but I will tell you one thing. It will not cost as much as it appears on the surface. The largest part of the teaching staff will be supplied either from the army or from the universities without cost, except travelling expenses, and I am confident of this, that the money the war is costing Canada in a day will run this whole service to the army during the whole demobilization period, and I am confident the public of Canada will be willing to subscribe that sum of money for that purpose.

I should like to take two or three minutes more to tell you something about the boys in the army. I never saw anything like the Canadian army before in my life. There is good and bad in the army. The bad is very bad, the good is the best in the world. It is not possible that a vast body of men, gathered together under the conditions of army life, should go on without the bad showing itself; but it also calls for the best and the noblest in men, and I have never seen a finer body of men than I saw in France, and I never expect to see such a body of men again. The spirit of them—the spirit is simply magnificent. I saw them behind the lines playing football and baseball the day before the attack on Lens,

and I saw them a few days afterward, after going through a hell of fire,—doing the same thing just like schoolboys. And I could hardly look at them—that is the way it affected me. After this battle General Haig reviewed the first brigade. He did not go through the usual perfunctory review. As the first brigade marched past him, instead of taking the salute from the men, as the men filed past him he kept on saluting, and he kept saying loud enough for all his staff to hear: "Every man is a hero," and he said it over and over again. I tell you there is no sham in France now. When you talk to a man in France you have to talk something worth hearing. They know the difference between the sincere and earnest man and the faker; they know it by instinct, and they are going to have the courage of their convictions when they come back. I spoke to a body of men one evening. I have forgotten what I was saying to them, but it contained some suggestion that they should feel free to express their opinions, and a man at the back of the room stood up and said: "I say, Doctor, we men have been over the top and we have faced hell, and we are not going to be afraid to face. . . ." well, a certain kind of man at home, and I tell you that is the spirit that these men are going to come back with. It will be a spirit of devotion also, and what they are going to ask at our hands is a square deal, and if we give it to them they will give it to us. And another thing, there is not much malice among our boys, there is nobody swearing at the Germans very much. After the battle of Lens, one of our boys came into the Y.M.C.A. hut leading a German prisoner. The coffee and cake had given out, so the man in charge, just having about one cup of coffee left, handed it to our boy. The boy said: "Is that all you have?" and the attendant said: "Yes, I am sorry, that's all." Well, our boy said: "Give me another cup," and he divided that cup of coffee and handed one portion to his prisoner, and said, "Here, Hun, drink that." There is not much malice in that. He wanted to teach that fellow that he thought he was a barbarian, and if there was any more scrap in him he could have it right there; but he also wanted to show that down at the bottom he was a Christian citizen. That is the principle for which the British people have stood all during their history, to give the other fellow a square deal. I wanted to say one other

thing, but it would be talking politics and I am not allowed to talk politics in the Canadian Club, and also as a public servant I am not allowed to do so—although why a public servant should have to keep his mouth shut about those things most valuable to the country I do not understand, but it is so in this country. Well, I told the boys over there that it was true—and I pray God it is true—the hearts of the people in Canada were behind them, and they would get the succor they require and the reinforcements would be forthcoming. I know and believe that is what the people of Canada will do for these men.

(November 12, 1917)

## DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

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By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

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**T**HE last time I was in Canada a year ago this autumn I had to come to Canada officially as a neutral. Thank God, to-day I am here as one of your Allies and I can look the Union Jack in the face with very different feelings from those with which I had to look at it in Toronto a year ago this month.

My subject has been announced as democracy and social efficiency. Perhaps a better title would be: "Can a democratic form of Government be efficient?" This is a question that the European War has made of very deep interest and moment to the whole world. To answer it we must first be able to define the word democracy. Lexicographers tell us the word comes from two Greek words meaning the rule of the people; but I prefer Abraham Lincoln's translation of the term into the human and immortal phrase: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people," and I ask you to note that the first phrase, the one of first importance is government of the people. Democracy does not mean well-paved streets, fine public utilities, workmen's insurance, old age pensions, State-owned railways, great universities, prosperous factories and a well-fed population, although many people confuse these agencies of human welfare with democracy. Germany has them and is not a democracy, and the State of Illinois when it gave Abraham Lincoln to the United States did not have them and was a democracy. Democracy is a matter of spirit, not of material things. Democracy often makes mistakes, sometimes terrible mistakes; but the important thing is that it should maintain the right of the citizen to exercise the free choice of government, the right to unsuppressed opinions, the right to choose his course of action.

These are the conditions that distinguish the free man from the slave, the citizen of a true democracy from the citizen of an autocracy. On the other hand, democracy does not mean anarchy. That every man may do as he pleases is as far from true democracy as absolute despotism is. Irresponsible and lawless freedom is a kind of absolute despotism in which each man tries to play the part of the despot. The true end of democracy is the welfare and development of each and all of the individuals of the group or the community or the State or the nation of which the individual is a member by his free choice. He must therefore submit himself to the rules or regulations which we call laws, framed by the community for its protection and benefit; he must submit to constituted authority. But, says the objector to democratic institutions, that is all the enlightened absolute monarch requires of us. The German Kaiser simply demands that his subjects shall obey the laws laid down by him for their benefit, laws which have made Germany the most efficient, the most prosperous and powerful of modern nations. It might be stated in response that it is because of these Kaiser-made laws that Germany at the present moment is one of the most tormented, unhappy and unsuccessful nations of all history. But we will let that pass. Let us assume that up to the outbreak of the war Germany's national growth, her industrial prosperity, learning, science, rapidly growing wealth, all the ingenious devices for increasing the material welfare of her people, were due to the beneficent rule of the Kaiser. All this is not democracy but is directly antagonistic to democracy. The Kaiser's principle is that the ruler who regulates the life of the individual citizen governs and exercises his authority by divine right, and is responsible only to God. The democratic principle is that the individual citizen chooses to obey a leader whose authority is delegated to him by the people, and who is responsible to the people. This is not a question of republic against monarchy, but of the source and responsibility of power. Germany's ruler is an absolute one, professing obedience to God. England is a constitutional, that is to say democratic, monarchy in which the King is the hereditary executive who puts into action the will of the people as expressed through their Parliament. The British Prime Minister is responsible

not to King George but to Parliament and the people. The German Chancellor is not responsible to the German people, not even to the Reichstag, but to the absolute German Emperor.

However alluring may be the theoretical definitions of democracy, it must stand or fall by the way it works out. It is said that it is not socially efficient. Distrust of democracy is well illustrated by a story told about Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, when the Whig Party was laying the foundation for modern British democracy. A young Oxford man who was going to take his degree came to Mark Pattison and asked advice from him as to what he should do when he entered political life in London. Mark Pattison, who was a genial cynic, although a clergyman, said: "My advice to you is to vote with the Whigs, and to dine with the Tories." I should be more discouraged by this almost universal distrust of the social efficiency of a democratic State if it were not for France. France is a thoroughgoing democracy; it is so democratic, in fact, that not many years before the war England and America often wondered if France was going to be torn to pieces by the pulling of various democratic factions. Yet to-day, France, a true democracy, is proving herself to be more efficient, not merely in devoted and deathless patriotism, but in military skill and strategy and in industrial capacity than despotic Germany. If France can do this, can not other democracies? Here I am reminded of what I believe to be the source, the real spiritual source of the social efficiency of France to-day, in a remark which General Joffre made to an American correspondent recently. This correspondent put to General Joffre this question: "If France were in the same relation to England that Germany now finds herself, would France not have sunk the *Lusitania*?" and General Joffre simply replied this: "France regards her soldiers and sailors as human beings, and you cannot give inhuman orders to human beings."

I would define social efficiency as that quality which enables a group of people or a nation, acting in a united, co-operative and persistent spirit, to accomplish with skill and success any work they undertake. However anti-German we may be, and I should not like to say how anti-German I am, if we are honest we must admit that the German people have

carried the idea of social efficiency to a very high state of perfection. Their cities are among the best-governed cities in the world; their military organization is the admiration of experts and the terror of combatants. Before the war broke out, she had established one of the finest trans-Atlantic sea services the world has ever known; her applied industry not only had its material effect but its constructive effect upon the commerce and industry of this hemisphere. Germany's social efficiency must be admitted, and what was the cause of this advance of Germany in industry and commerce? The cause or the source, gentlemen, was simply this same social efficiency. The German theory of democracy—and they have a theory of democracy, strange as it may seem—is social; that the individual exists for the welfare of the State, the Fatherland before all. The State is the ultimate, and the individual is merely one of the component parts. The danger of the German social theory of democracy is shown when it is carried to militaristic extremes of compulsory instead of voluntary organization.

Against the social theory of democracy in Germany stands the individualistic theory of democracy exemplified in an exaggerated form in the United States; and, to-day, I shall speak to you as though I were speaking to an audience of citizens of my own State and not to you as Canadians. By trying to throw some light on our problems I may probably be able to throw some light on similar problems here. Too many American people think the State exists simply for the welfare of the individual. The danger of this theory of democracy is that it leads to anarchy, failure to co-operate, and social inefficiency. Individually, we Yankees are among the most efficient, or at least the most capable beings on the face of the globe. Socially, we are very nearly the most inefficient. We have many great individual inventors, many great individual financiers, lawyers, and judges; but we have more homicides and railway accidents per capita, less farm trade per square mile of territory, than Germany. We make the greatest fire apparatus in the world and we have the greatest individual firemen, and we burn up more property per capita in a year than any two civilized nations in the world. That is not a mere picturesque statement. That is substantiated by the statistics of the Fire Department of the City of New York.

The fact is that there is a certain type of American, and the type may not be wholly unfamiliar to you in Canada, a certain group of Americans who do not care to work together unless somebody answers the question, "what is there in it for me?" And we do not care to do what we are told unless it suits our particular interest and pleasure, and we plead the justice of our attitude somewhat in this fashion. "A free-born American citizen is supposed to do what he likes with the saliva he secretes. I am a free-born American citizen, therefore I shall spit where I please," etc. Or, "a free-born American citizen has the right to be sick. I am a free-born American citizen, therefore I defy you to enforce your school vaccination law;" therefore our frequent epidemics. Or, "I am a free-born American citizen, and I shall harangue a group of people on any street corner, and down with the police," and then they wonder when anti-war soap-box orators are thrown into jail. Or, "a free-born American citizen is entitled to the earnings of his property. This railway is my property, therefore, the public be damned," and the old-fashioned railway manager used to declare that the Interstate Commerce Commission is a meddlesome and un-American institution. You think my language highly colored, perhaps, and my picture an inelegant one. Let me tell you two incidents that illustrate these points. Four or five years ago, in the spring of the year, I was driving along a state road in a carriage, in the vicinity of my home. It was on one of the great highways between New York and Albany. The road that spring, either through political corruption or some other social inefficiency, was in a state of disrepair. I came across a big, husky young contractor at work on that road, and his men were putting down little dabs of crushed stone. I protested that that did not do any good and the man said: "Yes, I know it does not do any good; but they have given me only 250 yards of stone to put on this road and a thousand yards would not do," and when I called up Albany next day an official of the Highway Commission said to me: "You damn Republicans built that road, now you can ride over it." He was apparently unconscious of the fact that the democrats just as much as the republicans were bumped over that road. This is a melancholy illustration of the fact that in the United States individualism as applied to the

person and to the political faction is often carried to an extreme. The other story I want to tell you is also another road story. But in order to be acquitted of partisanship on this occasion, the other story was a reflection on the democrats, this is a reflection on the republicans; while I myself am, or was a member of the late Progressive Party. Near my home, on a much travelled highway, a state road, there was a dangerous grade crossing, over a railway, at the foot of a hill. A viaduct was planned over that railway crossing, and under our state laws such a viaduct is built by the State, the railway and the county. An embankment was built, connecting this viaduct with the finely-finished state road; but the embankment and viaduct for more than a year were kept in an unfinished condition, until it was so rotted with the rain as to be very dangerous. The state and county authorities could not agree whose business it was to build that road. One day I stopped a town official and I said: "How about this road? What are we to do when it gets impassable?" "Oh," he said, "drive around." And he mentioned a place which was four or five miles out of the way. What would have happened in Germany supposing a commander of the Tenth Brigade, not being able to take a direct road, inquired as to the condition of the road, and was told by the Burgomaster that he did not know whose job it was to finish the road, but that he could haul his heavy artillery around another way, five miles out? I do not think the Burgomaster's head would be very safe on his shoulders. The individualistic, separatist, particularist idea of democracy displays itself not only in villages and municipalities but in the larger political circles. A year or two ago at a conference of Governors at Madison, a Governor from Utah attacked Federal control of our national resources as being inimical to the growth of Western business.

The question, gentlemen, is simply this: What can be done in a democracy on the one hand to promote social efficiency, without permitting it to take on the aspect of despotism, and protect individual rights without allowing them to degenerate into individual license? This in the last analysis is the problem of the trusts, the political bosses, the conflict between labor and capital, the arrangement of a just proportion between private profit and social welfare. This is the great problem of Russia to-day. On the fate of Russia hangs in some sense the

fate of the world, for if democracy cannot establish itself on the basis of efficiency which is compatible with human liberty, democracy will fail, and we shall all go back to a state of Prussian autocracy, which is nothing less than a state of moral and intellectual slavery. To answer this question, as to the efficiency of democracy, would take a series of addresses in itself; but I propose very briefly in the time left at my command to state, without much elaboration, a few factors that seem to me necessary to promote social efficiency in a democracy.

The first one is "authority." You must establish authority to make a democracy efficient, and in the United States we have done that legally. We have the Supreme Court of the United States, which jurists all over the world regard not only as one of the greatest Courts, but as one of the greatest props of Government in the world; and by training, we have made the people of the United States recognize the authority of the Supreme Court. That was remarkably illustrated in the history of our Income Tax Law. Twenty-five years ago the people of the United States by a popular majority established the Income Tax Law. It was passed to the Supreme Court where it was debated, and they finally decided by a majority of one—and that majority was only attained after one of the justices had reversed his vote—that they could not regard the law as constitutional. The Government had gone so far as to prepare schedules, but they went to work to do the only thing that could be done. They started a sort of public education on the question, and they finally succeeded in making almost everybody see the necessity of it. The Constitution was changed and amended to cure the difficulty which the Supreme Court had pointed out. Now whether you approve of the law or not, this just illustrates that a democracy can recognize and obey properly constituted authority. The first thing that a democracy has to do is to teach its boys and girls that authority is not only necessary in a democracy but is consistent with democratic freedom; and that authority can be limited, defined, amended, directed by the popular will through the ballot box. I think that is the first essential for efficiency in a democracy.

The second factor hangs very closely to it. It is education, and we must make education more popular in our democracy. It must apply more to the lives of the people. We must cease

having an artificial distinction between cultural and vocational education. Cultural education must be made vocational, and vocational must be made cultural, as it can easily be made. The war is going to produce that reform in our education. It has already produced it in England. The spirit and character of the two great halls of learning in England, Oxford and Cambridge, have been almost revolutionized by the war; and they are getting closer to the lives of the people as we must do.

Agriculture is the third factor. I have just been down with your Chairman this morning to your St. James Street, and it made a great impression upon me. I went into some of the splendid banks you have, and they are splendid, and they have done wonderful work in your country and mine in supporting this war. Your banks are now engaged on your Victory Loan and they deserve all the praise that can be given to them. Those banks do their business on asphalt and asphalt helps them to do their business; but if by some great omnipotent power to-night the whole surface of Canada from Halifax to Vancouver were covered with asphalt and you woke up to-morrow morning to find the entire surface of Canada covered in this way, what would happen? In one month you would starve and your banks would all be bankrupt. Why is it that in the one case the bank can do business on asphalt and in the other case if the rest of Canada were covered with asphalt the banks would be wrecked in a month? Because agriculture is at the base of all our activities, of the banks, the railways, the schools, and without agriculture not one man in this room could live or do business. We have got, gentlemen, to make agriculture more agreeable to the young man on the farm, and we have got to make it profitable to the farmer himself. I am not going to tell you how it ought to be done. I do not know. But agricultural improvement and development is an absolutely necessary factor to social efficiency in our democracy.

The next factor is professional politics. I am a believer in professional politics. I think that our young men have got to be taught that they can go into politics for a livelihood just exactly as in University life they become doctors, lawyers and clergymen. A lawyer that goes into the law just to make a living is a pettifogger, a doctor who does the same is a quack, a clergyman who does so is a hypocrite; but all the doctors and ministers and lawyers are not quacks, hypocrites and petti-

foggers; and I ask you the question why a man may not go into politics just as the high-class lawyer or doctor goes into his profession, as a means of livelihood and yet primarily to serve the State? In the city of New York the so-called respectable man will not go into politics as a livelihood. He leaves it to the criminal and the ne'er-do-well, and I think until our men go into politics as a profession we shall not have an efficient democracy.

The last factor I shall mention is preparedness, or as I prefer to call it, universal military training. There are men and women, noble ones, who tell me that universal military training means militarism. I do not believe that for a moment. There are those who say we are never going to have any more war because this war has been so vast. We may as well say we are never going to have any more fires because an enormous fire once burned the City of Boston. As far into the future as you and I can see, we shall have to have some kind of military protection for democracy, and we have got to have a system of universal military training, not Prussian militarism, but the kind of militarism, the mind of military training that has made of Switzerland and of France thorough-going, human, simple, natural democracies, able to defend themselves. We must have that in our democracies on this side of the Atlantic, and we must have universal military training not merely on the educational side and because it enables a democracy to protect itself, but for one other reason. I believe that a democracy has moral duties, just exactly as the individual has moral duties, and I believe it is the moral duty of a democracy to arise and go to the defense of a sister democracy who is attacked, and to do that we have to have war. We have in the United States a political motto I have always liked. It is: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," but to that motto I would add another motto for an efficient democracy: "Not one shot for conquest, but a million broadsides for the violation of a sister democracy." That is why to me universal military training represents that spirit which led Great Britain to go to the defense of Belgium. It is in that spirit I am glad that my own country has joined yours in this great attempt to educate the modern world to the fact that it is the duty, the moral duty of democracies, not only to defend themselves but to defend each other with all the force and power at their command.

(November 15, 1917)

## ROUMANIA UNDER THE GERMAN

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By HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUT. IOANIDU

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**I**T is a great privilege for me, a stranger, to come before this great audience to speak about my little country, Roumania. I was sent to America by Her Majesty, Queen Marie. The new Continent and the British Empire generally has always loved Roumania. Roumania is the biggest of the Balkan countries. You know that in this war Roumania has enemies around her—on one side Germany, Austria-Hungary, then Bulgaria; and only on one side has she a friendly country, Russia, and Russia in these times cannot do very much for us. But Roumania is still fighting against all her enemies and she is, on the Roumanian front, fighting to keep the German from going through Roumania to Odessa, which is one of the most important ports in Russia. The King of Roumania is a Hohenzollern and the nephew of the Kaiser, but this German King has proven that he has forgotten he is a German. To-day he is a Roumanian and is fighting in the middle of his soldiers. Many times, at the headquarters of the General Staff, his adjutants and generals have to keep him from going into the trenches to fight against the Germans. He is called the soldier King. We are proud of our King, because he put up such a splendid fight against his own brother at the time of the German invasion of Roumania. His brother is at the head of the German army which came to invade Roumania, and this brother has advertised in all Roumanian cities that he was not coming to fight against Roumania, but to punish the King who has forgotten that he has the privilege to be a German prince. But this German King is married to an English Princess, Queen Marie of Roumania. The Queen is the granddaughter of Queen Victoria of England. The present King and the one before this, King Charles I, was also a German

Prince, so most Roumanian politics have the German influence. Then Germany has lent money to Roumania, but has always put a condition: "We lend you all the money you want, but you must buy in Germany your guns, your ammunition, and all the things you need for war." So Germany has furnished to Roumania guns shooting five miles, and has brought to Roumania at the time of the invasion guns shooting more than twice that distance. But we have resisted this German invasion five and a half months and we still resist, though more than half of Roumania to-day is under the German, and we are so far from our poor brothers who are now in the German power. Germany was specially cruel in Roumania because it was a war of punishment. The way was very easy for Germany to come and invade Roumania, but we fought Germany for five months. Bucharest is captured by Germany and is the capital of Roumania. I have the privilege to have been for a long time Private Secretary of the Queen and always near to her. From four-thirty in the morning until nine o'clock at night our Queen, your British Princess, is at the hospitals, visiting the patients, helping to bandage the soldiers, speaking to each one. You can imagine what it means to Roumanian soldiers to see their Queen coming at the head of their nursing staff.

Russia promised great help to Roumania. At that time Russia sent an ultimatum to Roumania that if within forty-eight hours Roumania did not come into this war Russia would come and attack Roumania. This was the policy of the Government that then existed in Russia. We must understand these things. There is one illustration I want to take. I have been many times in Russia, especially just before I came over here. I had the privilege of carrying private correspondence from His Majesty the King and the Roumanian General Staff to the General Staff of the Czar. I want to prove to you how great the German influence was in Russia, so that we may understand why Roumania has never had the promised help from Russia. I came to the station and was met by a Russian Count who asked me: "Do you speak Russian?" I said, "No, I am sorry." He said: "Well, if you speak German we shall understand one another." I said: "I speak German a little, but I wish I might forget it especially in these

times." He said: "Oh, you must speak German, most of our officers have received their military education in Germany and they understand that language very well." Well, I came to the Russian General Staff and they spoke only German to me. Five days later I arrived at Petrograd and saw on the streets, hotels and all other places, including our Roumanian Legation in Petrograd, conspicuous advertising saying that any man speaking a word of German must go to prison for two months or pay a fine of three thousand roubles to the State; so it was only the General Staff of Russia that wanted the German language.

Germany has invaded Roumania, but Germany has not found very much in Roumania. You know, and I tell you only to remind you, that we are very rich in grain, in oil, etc., but we destroyed all these things before the German invasion. The British Government sent out to Roumania a member of the British Parliament, Colonel Norton Griffiths, with instructions to destroy the Roumanian oil, and Great Britain has paid for all the damage. In this war our allies, France and England have helped us, and if we resist to-day it is only while these allies help us. France has sent guns, ammunition, and we have to-day at the Roumanian General Staff a French General as one of the heads of the Roumanian Army. We have thousands of our soldiers being trained under English and French officers, about 1,200 English and French officers being sent to us for the purpose; and we have, in this way, after the great disaster of the German invasion, in Roumania to-day, 400,000 men fighting day and night against the German. They are the only ones fighting on the Eastern front to-day, and we are keeping the Germans out of Russia.

I had the privilege, last time I was in London, to see Lloyd George at the Foreign Office. At first when he saw me he was not quite sure that I was sent by the Roumanian Government as I looked too young; but when I showed him my papers he believed me and he spoke with me about two hours, and at the end of our conversation he said that Roumania is the key to Constantinople. If Germany desires to go to Constantinople she must first go through Roumania, and if Russia wishes to go to Constantinople she must first go through Roumania. Roumania is the key to Constantinople.

You can well imagine that the need in this invaded country is very great. We have enough to give the soldiers to eat; but when he is wounded after he has done his duty to his country, and he is sent back to the hospital, we have no medical supplies, we have no clothes and we have no food to give him to eat. I have been in the United States. I have made an appeal to the Red Cross of the United States, and I have been in most of the big cities of the United States making appeals, especially for clothing and food and money; and all these things are being sent to Roumania and they are being distributed by the Queen. The Queen of Roumania is the mother of Roumania and she knows better than all the governments and people there the needs of the people. We send these things through by way of Vladivostock or Paris, where we have a clearing house; but there is so much to be done, and it is very difficult. Do you know that sometimes people die in the streets from cold in Roumania? We have no clothes to give to these people and we have no food. You must remember that out of eight millions of Roumanians, four millions are now in this little part of the country invaded by the Germans, and while we have some money we have no place where to buy things which we need. We looked to Russia for supplies, but she is keeping them for herself, and all our hope is in America. England and France are sending us all the help they can send and more, we think; but we cannot ask France and England to help us in food and clothing, and I came here to America to make a great appeal to the people. Many people have helped me to send clothing and food to help my poor Roumanian population resist the German invasion.

We are proud to be your Allies.

#### THE REV. GEO. ADAM

A minister has to play many parts in his time, and unfortunately I am no exception to that rule. One of the jobs I got in coming over to this country was to look after our young friend here; and a man who is rich, who has lived in Roumania and has spent two or three years in Paris, takes some looking after. However, I did my very best, and to occupy his time on the voyage I had the honor to be his first English teacher, and I think he has made a very good pupil,

don't you? It was my good fortune to meet him some four years ago at the Roumanian Embassy in Paris, so I was not altogether unacquainted with him; but to have a young foreigner like this running loose on an Atlantic liner is not a very satisfactory thing in wartime, because one never knows who are on these liners, and prohibition has not yet reached them, and conversation might wax intimate; so I had to be lover and friend and comrade all rolled into one. However, I enjoyed it very much.

I must confess that Roumania never appealed very much to me. Roumania and Serbia and all the other countries in the Balkans have been storm centers and we never took them very seriously. We looked on them as a lot of quarrelling dogs, but we did not know what they were quarrelling about. I have had many conversations with this young Roumanian and I have been very much impressed with what he has told me about the condition of his country. Roumania seems to be very badly hit by the war indeed; and as there is no market for supplies in the Balkan districts just now, and shipping cannot go by way of the neutral ports and the Black Sea, they are dependent upon what can be brought along the Trans-Siberian Railway and Vladivostock, and the situation is difficult. Now Queen Marie of Roumania is a Scotch girl, by the way, and is therefore level-headed, knowing what she wants and seeing that she gets it, even if it is from the Kaiser. I have no doubt at all that the Roumanian King, with all due deference to him, was not inclined to fight with Germany, but a Scotch Princess in the Roumanian Court put an end to all the German influence there, and like a good husband he has followed his wife's leading—we should all be better off if we did a little more of that, especially if our wives are Scotch. Well, as I suggested, the situation seems to be very desperate. The Lieutenant suggested to me the other day that he would like to have a meeting here somewhere in Montreal and that he would speak about Roumania and show some lantern slides of his country, and that the price of admission to this meeting should be a pair of old half worn-out boots and shoes. Now when an envoy of a Queen comes to a country and makes a suggestion like that you can well understand how desperate the situation is. He was speaking about his country to no

less a person than Mr. Rockefeller in America recently and Mr. Rockefeller gave \$100,000. I was very much impressed with that and I began to think that really Mr. Rockefeller was pretty good, when I was reminded by our friend here that Mr. Rockefeller owns a great many oil wells in Roumania. Then I dimly understood, but being Scotch I could not understand clearly, but I thought I saw some reason at least for this munificence. However, in the United States the people have been kind enough to give him something over two million dollars and he has been enabled, in different parts of the country, from New York to San Francisco, to establish clearing houses, where they are gathering boots, clothing, sugar and all that kind of thing. I understand from Mr. Birks that this is a meeting that strictly forbids anything like an appeal to the generosity of the members and I do not intend to trespass on the rule, at least not too far; but the situation is a very bad one indeed and the heroism that has been manifested by Roumania ought to make a very definite appeal to us Britishers over in Canada. If our new ally, the United States, feels in their heart gratitude and sympathy for Roumania, we here ought to know even better how to appreciate the valor of this little country which, as you have heard, is surrounded on every side by enemies, and the only neighbour ally is unable to make up her mind at present whether she ought to assist her or not. You are in the middle of a great campaign for three hundred million dollars. Three hundred million dollars for Canada is a mere bagatelle as anyone who lives here knows perfectly well. I have but recently come over from Great Britain myself and the condition in that country and the condition in this country are very different things. Yet we are all Britons, and you will understand me when I say that we feel in our hearts that Canada has no right to continue the full enjoyment of her wartime prosperity while we are beggared over the sea. Great Britain has borne the burden of the war, up to now, about that there is no question and it cannot be denied. Our war budget to-day exceeds thirty-five million dollars every day in the week, Sunday and Saturday included. We gave to the grand alliance, even before conscription came into force in our country, over four and a half million volunteer soldiers. The result of the first six months' operation of com-

pulsion in Great Britain did not produce six hundred thousand soldiers, so there were not very many slackers in dear old Great Britain. You know how our loans have been answered by our people, not by the rich people but by the whole body of the people in Great Britain, as you very well know. This war is a people's war. We know what we are up against absolutely, and any man who has been in the war zone, or who is even on the fringe of the councils of our nation knows that our government realizes the horror of the thing, and every man, woman and child is in this war with heart and soul and body, and with their money. We cannot do very much more for Roumania because we have to come to Canada, our own young son, and ask him to allow us to owe him the money for the goods he is sending to us now, so we cannot do much more for Roumania or any of the other states. We look to you, rich, young, virile, imperialistic, to shoulder some of the burden in looking after these small allies in this great war; and I am certain, in my own mind, that no man here, when he has satisfied himself and is living up to the patriotic challenge, at the rate of five and a half per cent.—will forget that other challenge to the grand alliance, which is going to bring no financial return, but will bring considerable heartease in the days that are to come. I feel perfectly certain that no one of you Canadians could be comfortable in your hearts and minds and consciences if you thought that one Roumanian man or woman or child died of starvation in that part of Roumania that remains to them, because you kept a dollar warm in your hip pocket. And so, although I must not ask you for money I want to tell you quite frankly that you have heard this story of this young man, and you dare not keep your money in your pocket, if you have any at all to spare for a little country that has stood in the way, so that the great granaries of Odessa and the great city of Constantinople should not fall into the hands of the German. We owe them a very deep debt of gratitude, and I am certain that debt will be discharged here in Canada, and the lead to Canada will be given by Montreal.

When the Lieutenant left Roumania with the benediction of his Queen she told him: "I long for the sympathy of the English speaking peoples in these new worlds to which you

are going, and if you cannot get their money get their sympathy, their hearts, their affection, because there is a time coming when victory will crown the efforts of the grand alliance, and Roumania will want friends who love her and understand her sacrifices in the war," and so she asked the Lieutenant to have the men and women of Canada and the United States who sympathized with her, and had any affection for Roumania in her great sacrifice, to put their names in a book, so that she might see them and some day when the press of the crisis was over, might be able to send to them herself some memento of appreciation for the sympathy they extended to her in the time of Roumania's sore trial. The Lieutenant has his book with him if any of you men would like to put your names in it. It is not a question of money at all, but of sympathy and friendship. If you care to make that sympathy practical and real, why that will be characteristic of Canadians. I was in America the other day, and while there I was talking about some charity in one of the great cities in America, and when the meeting was over a business man came to me and said: "Look here, sir, are you out of a job that you are talking around the country like this?" I said: "No, I am not quite out of a job yet." "Well," he said, "if at any time you are out of a job I want a salesman." But there is nothing doing. I have something far better to sell than that. I deal in things fundamental to human life,—faith, for example,—and all the crash of German artillery, all their cruelty and hatred cannot break down that something in the human soul of man, the faith that lives in the soul of man, that we still believe in God, in the high destiny to which God has called mankind; and no combination of material forces can ever break down the glory of that faith that burns like a beacon in our hearts. I challenge you to renew your faith and live in the pure atmosphere of altruism. Make your sacrifices, make them often and long. Make sacrifices that bring something of the bitterness of the loneliness and privation of others into your lives, and out of that faith and sacrifice, even if it come to the shedding of blood, will come that glory of the power of God that will make you his sons in very deed.

(November 19, 1917)

## IMPROVED AGRICULTURE

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By PRESIDENT CREELMAN, B.S.A., LL.D.

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I AM given to understand that during the past summer most of you have given up your summer resorts and your usual vacations to work in your own backyards, and I am pleased to see here so many hard-handed sons of toil, glad to know that the snow has come and given you a respite from that work so that you are able to be here this afternoon. To-day the food problem is second in importance only to that of men and munitions. The farmer might, therefore, be said to occupy the second line trenches. This work that you have done in your backyards, if it has done nothing else, has, I am sure, given to you here as it has to the people in Ontario, an appreciation for the first time of the difficulties with which the farmer contends in raising of crops to the condition where he can put it upon the market. I know that people in Toronto this year paid very highly for the one carrot or potato or cabbage that they raised, and which was supposed to last throughout the season.

The improvement of agriculture has occupied the minds of many people during the last few years, and may I say to you here that farming and all farm operations have improved and changed materially in Canada in the last few years; and the farmer can no longer give even to his own boys the most up-to-date instruction in the subject of agriculture. Wheat in Eastern Canada is no longer our most important product, but is now only one of our minor crops; while onions, carrots, beets, apples, etc., are now being counted among our staple crops. We have found that the soil is capable of growing such a variety of crops that there is no longer any reason why a farmer's daily life should be monotonous. We have changed our methods with the new order of things, and owing to the

superior intelligence of our agricultural people, we have established ourselves as one of the best farming countries in the world. Notwithstanding the great development in the Western Provinces in regard to crops, the Province of Ontario yet equals in value all the crops produced in Western Canada. As one goes through Ontario from county to county, we are forced to the conclusion that as an agricultural district we are very favored indeed. We have an excellent climate, the country is well-watered; and if our banks in their Annual Statements predict good or bad times according to the condition of crops in the West, that is because they have never yet been disappointed in Eastern crops, so they do not take into consideration what might happen if we had a failure here.

One would expect to find farming the most popular business of all, and people only living in cities and towns until such time as they had money enough to buy and operate a farm. The situation is entirely reversed. Farmers' boys and girls are living and have been living in large numbers in the cities and towns. Most of the farmers themselves hope to make enough money, which at three per cent. will enable them to go to the neighboring town or city and live in peace and idleness for the rest of their lives, to sleep late in the mornings and stay up late at nights, and all the rest of it. You know how differently it works out; yet the farmer has as much right as anybody else to retire after his hard work; perhaps more right, as he is the one man who has earned every dollar that he has made. Talk of profiteering at the present time! In my Province, and sometimes in this, we hear the statement that the farmers are making so much money, profiteering in the business. There is not any truth in that at all. If there were, we should not, at this stage in the war's history, do anything to interfere with or discourage the very largest production that we can get from the farmers of the Dominion of Canada next year, no matter what profit the farmer might get out of it. The farmer is extremely sensitive, and when you ask all of his sons to go to the war, and his daughters to the hospitals, and even his hired help to go to the war and ask him to speed up production with half the labor he ought to have, it is not fair. That is the situation at the present time, and the farmer, being a sensitive individual, understands it

very clearly. Now we have to allow for all his handicaps, and if he makes a profit, that is on the side. The great difficulty is that the farmer does not know the situation in the town. He has as much right to retire, as I have said, as anybody else, but he does not know the difference between the life of the producer and the consumer, and he is lost when he gets out of his own sphere. The great pity is not that he is not able to fit into his new condition, but that his long experience, his habits of thrift, his knowledge of the community, and so forth, are all lost to the neighborhood in which he has done his work. How much clear-headed, conscientious help is needed among the school boards in our agricultural communities! What one man of the right sort could do in the country with a little leisure, in improving the school and the conditions in the school grounds! What an influence he would be in coming forward in support of a teacher in the instruction of modern methods! He would be a source of strength in the community; and what a benefit it would be to his particular community if he could secure additional funds for the purchase of school equipment so that we might have teaching by demonstration. It is a great pity that the man who has labored there should not stay in the country and help with his time and his knowledge. If, then, the coming generation of farmers is to be kept in the country, is to be settled on a corner of the old farm after the farm itself has been turned over to the son or the son-in-law, then we must start in to interest the boy and girl of the rural communities in the ethics of rural living. We must teach the farmer's boy to play in a systematic way, to co-operate with his neighbors. We must teach him the first principles of scientific farming, encourage him to read and draw and to develop along the line of his talents, systematically. We must teach him neatness about the farm buildings and fences, shorter hours for men and teams, a desire to adopt new methods and a readiness to change from one method to another when a better way is found. These ideas must be inculcated early if we are going to have a robust farming community in the days that are to come. All such ideas must be inculcated in youth, and as the farmers are now asking for more help from the Agricultural College, the boy will get more encouragement at home than

would have been the case a few years ago. The country girl and boy never had a good show. I have drawn up what I believe to be a representation of the minds of the farmers' boys and girls, a creed for them. The boy says:

1st. I believe that life in the country is just as pleasant and profitable as life in the city.

2nd. I believe that father and I can form a partnership that will be profitable to both of us.

3rd. I believe that by careful selection of our poultry we shall be able to double the output of our flock.

4th. I believe that by growing alfalfa we can keep twice as many domestic animals, and that the farm will increase in value. In this way we shall be better contented and happier in every way.

5th. I believe not in luck, but in pluck.

6th. I believe that farming is a most honorable business, and having decided to stay on the farm I am going to make the best of my time here, while I am in school.

7th. I believe in working when I work and playing when I play, and giving and receiving a square deal in every act of life.

For the farmer's girl:

1st. I believe that I have the right to be happy every day.

2nd. I believe that God's blue sky and clean earth are a part of my inheritance.

3rd. I believe in loving little chickens and ducks and lambs and puppies as well as dolls and ribbons.

4th. I believe that I can take care of them as well as brother.

5th. I would rather keep house than do anything else, and I regret that housekeeping is not taught in my school.

6th. I believe that keeping a garden all my own would be great fun.

7th. I believe that I could study really hard at my public school lesson if I could do cooking or sewing with the other girls in the afternoon.

8th. I do not want to go to town and leave mother and father and brother for I know I shall miss them all, and the trees and the green grass and everything; but I don't want to stay at home and do nothing but wash dishes and grow old like Auntie. I want to laugh and to live and to love.

9th. I believe in a square deal for girls as well as boys, and I want everybody to be happy all the time, the old as well as the young.

And now we come to the next stage, the agricultural college; and I want to tell you that you have at Ste. Anne de Bellevue one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world. Unfortunately the graduates of agricultural colleges do not come, as a rule, under your passing glance. They go into agricultural work outside of the cities. The graduates of Macdonald College are found in every Province of Canada, and they are starting in the right direction. For forty years in Canada, Agricultural Colleges have, by experiment, shown that by farming certain fields in certain ways, breeding and feeding certain classes of live stock in a certain way, raising certain crops on certain soils, absolute success in farming is assured. We have been able to take farmers' sons and make better farmers of them, but we have never had much success in trying to teach the trade of farming to young men from the cities who have had no previous farm experience before coming to College. We have applications, and Dr. Harrison has applications from cities, and we do not like to turn them down. I have had fathers come to me and say: I believe that one boy in the family ought to be selected for farm work just as we put one boy in business, another in a profession, and so on, and I want you to teach my boy how to farm. I ask. What are the qualifications of your son? He has matriculated for the University. And I have to say to that man: In our opinion the function of the agricultural college is not to teach boys how to farm, but to take boys with good farm experience and encourage them to farm scientifically, and we try to get the city boy to go on a farm for two or three years and learn the fundamentals of farm work, and then come to us so that we may teach him better methods of doing them.

You may be surprised to know that the difference between the average and the possible yield on the ordinary farm is, at least, three hundred per cent. That is why the farmer cannot teach his own boys the best methods. Now if I were to come to any business man with a proposition whereby, by a change of method, he would be able to make an additional twenty per cent., he would adopt it at once; but when we

come to tell the farmer how he can get two to three hundred per cent. more out of his farm, it is very hard for many reasons to teach him new methods. We have agricultural colleges and experimental stations throughout Canada, and if we could have some new methods put into actual practice we could double the output of the ordinary farm. But we have not been able to get the farmer to adopt these facts through their every-day work on the farm. Now, for instance, alfalfa is worth half as much as bran for feeding live stock. Bran last week was worth \$45.00 a ton, which makes a crop of alfalfa actually worth to the farmer about \$112.50 per acre; and yet it is hard to get the farmer even to plow up some unused corner of his farm, to plant alfalfa. But the mere telling you of these things does not help to produce a reform.

We have thought about it for a long time, and we have finally come to the conclusion that the best and quickest way to improve the farming in this country is to send trained men into the country and leave them there long enough to get the confidence of the people. This would help considerably. It is hard to get money for this purpose, because the farmer himself in the first place is prejudiced against teachers generally, and new methods especially, and the city man says: "the farmer is farming on his own place and making money on it. Why should we vote money for the farmers?" Now the question is: How are we going to get together on this proposition? Perhaps this time of crisis is a good time to discuss it. We have now one station or committee in each of the forty counties of Ontario. We shall accomplish a good deal, through short courses for farmers, in introducing pure seed, and all the other matters that are so vital to farming. I want you to watch our teachers and their operations, in your own Province, and try to understand the progress they are making, which will go farther toward the future prosperity of Canada than any other one thing we have attempted. Why should not we have doctors of agriculture as well as doctors of medicine? Why should a young man, graduating from an agricultural college, after spending four years away from his farm and spending his money, have to come back on an ordinary one hundred acre farm and give twelve or fifteen hours

of his day to justifying his book learning, and at night work to improve the agriculture in the district in which he lives, without one cent of recompense? No doctor would do it. Any professional man graduating from college, immediately hangs out his shingle, and the community rises to the occasion and supports that individual as a necessary part of the body politic. Why not support some of the agricultural graduates so that they may help the people generally by teaching better methods of farming, thus helping the whole country at large?

Returning to the schools for a moment, as one man cannot do much in a whole county, the public school teachers themselves must teach this new agriculture if it is to become widely known and widely used. Last year we had large summer classes of students from the rural communities, and classes of teachers already engaged in teaching who came to the college to take up the elements of agriculture. This was a move in the right direction. I am not sure that rural teachers and preachers may not have to take courses at the agricultural colleges so that they may learn to teach and preach the modern religion of farming to farmers in terms of their daily lives.

The farmer's problems are many. The following seem to stand out. First the killing of weeds, then the planting of varieties of crops best suited to his particular locality. Then the breeding of good stock. The old countries have thoroughly handled the latter question long ago, so much so that you find the stock taking the name of the particular county in which it is raised, and making a name for itself and its county. It seems strange that our neighbors to the south of us, doing such great work in invention and other lines, have scarcely been able to improve their stock at all, and they cannot compare with the splendid breed of cattle of Great Britain.

One thing we should do is the introduction of improved machinery, very much improved machinery, into farm labor, particularly the tractors for fall ploughing. In the fall of the year—some of the old customs still remain—the threshing should not be done as it is now, where the farmer has to give fifteen days to his neighbors at a time when he ought to be working at more important things. We want to introduce tractors in a large way. This is something new and something expensive, but some city men have helped us to buy some

tractors in Ontario. They gave us \$200,000 for expenses, and we got 130 tractors, and put them out to illustrate to the farmers in every county in Ontario whether this was practical for the average hundred acre farm. I do not believe we could have got that money, except in war time, through the usual Provincial Legislature as it is constituted in these Provinces; but in war time many things are done, and in days to come we shall find them very useful towards doubling the output even with the small amount of help we have. And then comes the question of hired help. We have got to get away from the system whereby a farmer hires a man for four or five or six months, and then turns him loose on the community for the balance of the season. Our farmers have got to be in a position to give their hired help a house, some land and the use of a cow. Now it is not possible for the average farmer to make out of his labor a profit of more than \$300 cash a year, and that hardly enables him to build a house, costing two or three thousand dollars, for hired help at any time. Also, in addition to this, I would advocate that our best farmers and livestock men go to Great Britain to hold meetings, and show photographs so that the people there may have an exact idea of what they may expect if they come over here to farm, and we would then get, in the way of immigration, some help that would be useful to us, instead of getting as now anything but farmers. Marketing our farm produce by co-operation is getting to be the best system of marketing; but the trouble is to get the farmers to co-operate. This question is occupying the minds of politicians and economists the world over, and it is revolutionizing the whole system of farming in other countries. Co-operative methods have given the farmers charge of the railroads, and even of the governments. Under the co-operative system money could be had before the war from two to three per cent., and the poorest citizen in the community had the same chance to promote his business as the richest farmer.

In America it looks as if our farmers are going to be forced to the war, and our land lie desolate before we give up our jealousy and petty suspicions of one another. Before the war broke out so many people were rushing to the cities that the prices of foodstuffs became much dearer. There

were fewer people producing and more people consuming. The question before us is, how may we, with more mouths to feed, meet the increased demands? The colleges and experimental stations have done their part and done it well. They have found out and suggested many things which would absolutely double our present output of food. I think the trouble is the lack of organic union among ourselves. Every farmer on his own farm ought to be able to obtain information at first hand. The next important thing is the improvement of roads. This is absolutely essential. We ought to stop talking about building them and go to work and build them. We have talked about it and that was as far as it went. I am sure the time is ripe when some school of practical science must put in a course in road-making, and I am sure the results would be of untold value. Then we must try to secure electric power on the farm. That is coming very fast, I think. What an uplift it will be to the whole rural home life to have electric lighting in every room and house and barn and stable. At the present time farmers work so hard that they have no time to enjoy the light of day, and at night they have a poor light to enjoy anything else by. Think, also, for a moment, what a difference running water would make in the domestic arrangement of the farmer. We want more shrubs, tennis courts, and time for play for the farmers, so that their lives may be the envy of the young people, the young people of the city and the town. I am convinced, after thirty years' careful observation that it is not the glamor and glare of the city streets that attracts boys and girls from the farm, but the lack of social advantages in the country. There should be such social organization in the country that every young man and woman could take an active part in the life of the community. You know that you would go back to the farm to-morrow, lots of you, if it were not for the poverty of the social life in the country and the ordinary comforts of life, like running water in the house. This is most important. Fall ploughing and seeding, washing dishes and doing chores may be serious enough business, but it is not the highest kind of entertainment. Youth must be served and conserved. We want better schools. We must all work for a living, and, therefore, we must have special training. In country places

the young people are nearly all intelligent, they are all temperate, frugal and industrious. They must be so to live. That accounts for our young men adapting themselves so readily to life in the cities and towns. But what about the girl and boy who remains at home? In one section of the country a hundred young men took instruction at our station last week, and nearly a thousand more attended classes at college. Some of these were school teachers, and when rural school teachers have a knowledge of agriculture I predict rapid changes. We ought to have short courses for preachers. We have had preachers of different denominations come to the college saying: "I want to have some knowledge of this subject so that I may preach to the people in terms of their daily lives." Again I believe there are many things that the girls in the country ought to be taught scientifically. I believe that quite as many men go to pieces each year from bad cooking as from strong drink. In Canada you may be surprised to learn that ninety per cent. of our women do their own work. Ninety per cent. If that is true, then every girl should be taught how to cook and sew while her time is not worth much, so that she may economize when her time is valuable. If ninety per cent. of the women are on one side we can risk the other ten, and I am not sure but that it would benefit them, too. Flour and sugar and salt are three of our most necessary foods, and before the war broke out they were all cheaper than they had been twenty years ago, yet bread was higher. If it takes one cent and a quarter, as I am told it does, to make a five cent loaf of bread in Montreal, and the same amount to deliver it, half the cost of the staff of life was saved by our mothers' baking. Why don't your wives bake? They don't know how. Excuse my saying so. If they did they could save half of the cost of the staff of life. We have tried to make musicians and artists of our daughters, and in doing so we have spoiled thousands of good cooks.

Now we come to you with our rural problems, simply because you are specialists in organization and we are not. We are willing to do this work, and we do not know how. We need public money, and we do not know how to get it. We need one million dollars in Ontario and Quebec to put into practice what we already know. We want good roads.

If there were a mile of improved road in every town, and farmers, after travelling over that mile came to the bad road and saw what the difference was and what it meant,—well, there would be a change. We want travelling teachers of agriculture and cooking and sewing in every district. We want especially a pure seed campaign, and all sorts of other things, and we want them now. Please excuse my emphasis, but my heart is in this work. We need the help and sympathy of everybody. We want as many instructors and experimenters and demonstrators to look after crops and rural education generally, as we now have doctors of medicine. Our farmers will then produce more and better food, and put it on the city market in so attractive a form that last year's eggs and canned vegetables will all be forced out of competition. Your wife will then, with confidence bred of knowledge, take the greatest pride in preparing or supervising the preparation of all your food. All because we have got to the source, and have come to understand that vocational training is the sensible and necessary training for boys and girls. The training of country children must necessarily be different from the training of city children, but the best training of each is essential. Perhaps in the end country people will lose their jealousy of their neighbors in the cities and towns, and the town people will come to emulate the economy and appreciate the social value of the farmers, to the credit and benefit of both.

(November 22, 1917)

## THE WAR

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By HARRY LAUDER

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When I stand here to-day and I look around this room and see so many fine, clear-cut faces, it just puts me in mind of one day when I met a Canadian company, swinging along the road in France, with their faces browned and tanned with the sun and the mud of the trenches. I saw they were kind of weary-like, so I sang out: "Boys, would you like a song?" and they said "aye." When they said "aye" I knew where they came from. Well, they took their packs off their backs and they sat down in the middle of the big road, and we had a concert, and then they just slipped their packs on their backs again and they said: "Good-bye, Harry," and away they went back to their billets. Oh, yon's the men! Yon's the men! Canada! You're a great son of a noble sire, and if you men could only be in France for an hour and visit Vimy Ridge, or from Albert to Bapaume you would see the crosses in France—the Canadians have been there. They have left their mark wherever they have been. They are doing their best—their very best. They are not saying at the front: "We will see what we can do," No! they are doing their very best. I hope you folks at home are doing *your* very best. When you have been to the front, and you have seen what you have seen, you recognize that there is one great and glorious word, the finest and the best word in any language: "Liberty." There are more crosses erected to-day to the word "liberty" than have ever been in the world before. I once saw a convict in the prison who had been sentenced to death, but he had been reprieved and was to serve penal servitude for the natural period of his life. When I saw him he had served seventeen and a half years. Some days before I spoke with him, he told me, that the Governor had sent

for him to his office and told him that he was to get his liberty in about three years' time. "Oh!" he said, "what a glorious word is liberty! My whole vision changed. For a moment or two the prison was forgotten. The prison walls, the grey prison walls had dulled my imagination. For seventeen years I forgot what a tree was like, I forgot what a horse was like, I forgot what a rose was like, but now that I have been told that I am to get my liberty, oh, what a glorious word that is! I tell you I never felt anything like this before. When my fellow prisoners passed me they used to give me a look of sympathy. I could feel it all through me, to the soles of my feet. I was a 'lifer.' To-day it is not a look of sympathy they give me, it is a look of envy, because I am going to get my liberty. The scene is changed. I can see through the stone walls now. They have become walls of pure crystal. I can see the golden corn waving in the fields, I can see the green fields and the green trees, aye, and"—he said—"I can smell the roses and I can see the daisies growing."

Liberty! What a glorious word is liberty! If we ourselves should ever be under Prussian rule, not only our vision but our whole existence would be dull and damp. I admit that to-day we are looking through grey walls, but God knows, and we know that the walls we are looking through to-day are the grey walls of cannon, and we can see behind those grey walls of cannon the noblest souls and the greatest men the world has ever seen. Our soldiers to-day, noble characters, are standing behind the grey walls, and every blow they strike is for new civilization. They are crowding up this great avenue, and every blow they strike is a new lamp in the avenue of a new life for us, and we must give them, we *must* give them every encouragement; and when the generations come behind us, what a glorious heritage to hand down! And when they come down the avenue of civilization, they will be able to point their finger and say: "My dad lit that lamp."

I was telling them in America yesterday (and for the past five weeks), why we knew that America was so long in coming into the war. We knew the great German propaganda that was being carried on over there, which had to be rounded up sufficiently first to allow them to take the field. It is being carried on over there yet. Only a few days ago they discovered

German guns buried in American soil and rifles and ammunition, to kill their wives and families with. I told them "I want you people here to have one thought, and no other thought but to become agents for your country, and do everything that you can to round up the German propaganda in the United States." I said, we who know and appreciate the fact, thank God for President Wilson. I told them also how in the years gone by how Britain's big brother, America, had a row, a family broil, or as we say at home: "There was a row in the roost." A big row. There are very few houses without a row. You have to have a row sometimes to assert your authority. You ask my wife and she'll tell you. I said, before the row could be healed up again, the German came along, the Hun, the Hun, and he held up the cup of hatred to the big American, angry brother, and the angry American brother drank it to intoxication; and while he was drinking to intoxication Germany was carrying on her propaganda. (She was doing it in this country too, in Canada, also. You were becoming a wee bit Germanized and you did not know it. It was in your talk; in your dialect. I remember the first time I came to Canada, somebody came over to me and said: How do you do Harry "Louder"? That's right. That is the German pronunciation of my name, and he did not know it. You get it right now, though). Aye, I told them. "Americans", I said, "if ever there was a time when the great re-union should take place between the United States and Great Britain, the time has arrived to-day. United and individually", I said, "you should all do your very best to mix the material that is going to cement the English-speaking world for all time. I said that if I were an American I would stretch my big, long, American arm across the Atlantic, and I would grasp the tawny, brawny hand of Great Britain in everlasting friendship. I asked them in Canada—I was over there last week to help the Victory Loan at Windsor,—how would you folks like to be living a life of terror, the same as the French and the Belgians have been living for all these years on the borders of Germany? Every nation, every man, woman and child that has been living on the borders of Germany for the last forty years have not had a proper night's sleep. How would you like here to be living a life of terror, thinking

that the great United States were going to come over and engulf you any night? That is the position that Europe has been in for forty years. Get close together, and let us cement ourselves together.

I want to say that before this war we were living a very cold and selfish life. As long as we were able to eat a good meal of meat, and rise from the table and get before the mirror and pull our waistcoat down, and toss our hair on the side and look in the mirror and say: By Gosh, I feel well,—why we did not care for anything else. I tell you, boys, we neither cared for God nor man in those days; but that is all changed now. It is all changed now. The crosses in France have changed it all. We are called upon to make the greatest sacrifices that have ever been known, because we are face to face with an enemy who knows no mercy. No mercy prevails with the Hun. Before my boy went back to the trenches the last time, he and I used to have wee talks at the fireside, smoking our pipes together. He was my pal, he was, forbye being my son. I said to him one night: "John, will you tell me something about the front?" He said: "Well, you know Dad, British officers don't talk much. We do things, but we do not talk much." I said: "I would like to know something about the front. Tell me something about it. I may need it yet. You never know." "Well," he said, "now I'll tell you one thing. There was one night—one night. We were here, and next to us were the Indians, and next to them were the 42nd, the Black Watch. The Black Watch had made a raid on the German trenches that night, and the Germans captured sixty of them. They took these sixty men into their trenches and they stripped them as naked as the day they were born, and they stood these sixty men at attention all night—and it was a very cold night, Dad, in the trenches—and when the grey, pallid morning broke the Germans said to them: 'You swine, go away back to your trenches, and when they were getting across—there was only seventy-five yards between the British trench and the Germans,—when they were half-way across the German opened their machine guns on them and mowed every one of them down. They mowed them down—brave men, defenceless men, naked men—God, isn't it awful!' My son said "Dad, it was awful. I helped to bury them."

One night, when I was in Hull in 1915, a friend of mine brought his brother into my dressing room, when I was making up to go on the stage. He was lame, shot through the ankle—a country fellow from the farm, an honest Yorkshireman, an honest Englishman. I said: "I want you to tell me something about your experiences at the front. How did you get wounded." He said: "I was at Neuve Chapelle where the big guns bark like the guns of Hell, at Neuve Chapelle. Four days before the battle there I was one of a company who was told off to take a little bit of a farm. There were three machine guns and twelve Germans were holding it. We stormed it and we killed eleven of them and captured the machine guns, and we took the other fellow through the different places on the farm to let us see that there were no spies lurking about. When we came into the wee barn, right about five or six feet from the wall of this barn, a Canadian officer was hung up by the neck to the rafters, his neck was just as thin as my wrist, and his hands were tied behind him and his feet were tied, and," he said, "there were about five thousand bayonet stabs in his body, where these dogs had been practising bayonet exercise." Now these are the people we are up against.

That is the enemy. Prepare to sacrifice everything you have to destroy that force. The world is on fire, men, to-day, men, and we, you and I have been called to put it out, and we must not leave the smallest red spark alive. We must put it out as black as hell. Turn your dollars into silver bullets. That is what to do. Fill the coffers of the Canadian Government with all your money. This war can only be won by three things—money, men and ammunition. Get together—cement yourselves as solid as the rock of ages; be shareholders in the bank of humanity. That is what to do. When I was at the front, I would ask the boys: "How are you, boys? How are you getting along." They would always say: "We are all right." We are all right! My nephew wrote home one day to me from the front and he said: "Uncle, you will laugh. To-day we were being heavily shelled,"—he was a sapper—"we were amongst a lot of bushes, and when we were crawling like snakes, and dodging the shells among the bushes a fellow turned around to me and

said: 'John, watch these nettles and no' get jagged.' " Isn't that beautiful? His only other brother, who is home to the old country from Australia, wrote to me the other day and he said: "Uncle, I am still in England—I am not away to the trenches yet. Don't think I am afraid to go and die in the trenches like my cousin," he said, "but I will tell you, I'm awful afraid of catching a severe cold." I tell you the humor's in the family. The boys at the front when you ask them how they are, they say: "We're all right. We're as right as rain. Ay! and we are going to stay here too—my God, we are going to stay here. Look at the ruins, look at them on the right and on the left, and look at them in front of you—how would you like all Scotland to be like this? Would you like England, dear old England, to be like this? No, never! We are here and we are going to welter in our blood, and we are not going to leave—not until we scatter and break the Prussian rule, because if we only break it and scatter it, it will surely re-assert itself again. But we are here and we are going to stay here until we destroy it." That is the attitude, men, right from the front to Montreal. Men, they are doing their best. Do your best, and—as they say over in America—it's a cinch. I am getting quite American now. Yes, I say Gee sometimes. I can say that now because we are all allied together now.

Our progress of course is, as you know, very slow, but it is awful sure. Oh, it's as sure as death. It is as sure as death our progress is. There are two sides to the line, you know. There are the other fellows and our fellows—us fellows. When we are shelling and battering and uprooting the Hun, and when he retreats back again he has got good roads away behind to pull his good cannon across. He does not need to wait and build his roads. Sometimes he has a big shell hole to get across, but he has good whole roads to go back on; but before we can advance a yard that road has to be rebuilt. We smash everything to smithereens, the whole world is turned upside down—and the stones to build these roads are brought from Ireland and Scotland and England and Wales, and the roads are anything from 3 1-3 to 5 feet thick. It takes a bit of doing, to take these big cannon, anything from 35 to 50 tons, across these roads, and, of course, we are

not having a fight and going along and just saying—we will put France all right when the war is over. We are doing it now, we are putting France all right as we are going along. It is better to-day behind than it ever was before. Our progress is slow, but I should add a good deal on to this, as Haig's done very well since I left. He told me, "I'll get along, Harry, all right, the time you are away." That's Scotch tenacity. Since the 1st of July, 1916, we have taken eight thousand seven hundred and fifty square miles back from the Germans, and for every British prisoner they hold we hold four Germans. That is pretty good going. As the boys say when you ask them how they are getting along, "We're winning," and if they do not know they're winning they believe they are winning, and that is the most important thing—to believe we are winning—and we *are* winning. It will be a long fight, but it will be a win, and that is the main thing. It will be a win!

Now I am going to finish. I have got a lot of work to do, and before I go I want to say this: If the Hun can cement himself for everything that is cruel and hellish, surely the English-speaking world can cement itself for everything that is good and noble.

While I was coming across the sea—and it takes a bit of doing in these days you know—there were fifty gunners on board of the boat, it was a United States boat. I interested myself very much in these young lads because I never saw, all the voyage, any single place by the gun vacant. When the watch was to leave he was immediately replaced. One young fellow was among them who interested me very much. He was a nice looking young lad about twenty-three or twenty-four. He had a beautiful face, and I used to watch him. One day I saw him leaning on the rail and looking away across the sea, and I thought to myself: I wonder if you ever think of anything else but submarines, and I said, I believe you do. And I got this picture in my mind and I wrote this little song coming across on the ship:

"THERE IS SOMEBODY WAITING FOR ME."

(November 27, 1917)

## CANADA'S PART IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1917

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By STEWART LYON

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I THOUGHT that it might be of interest to you to-day to hear something of what has taken place on the Western front during the year of 1917. There is one thing that it is necessary and of interest for us to remember, that all the Canadian troops are not connected with the Canadian force. When I left France, a month ago, there were 95,000 Canadians under the command of General Currie, and 40,000 Canadians in other parts of the Western front, not connected with the Canadian Corps, all these fellows equally important in maintaining the honor of Canada on the battlefield, and doing work that is of the greatest service to humanity in the Canadian hospitals in France, and in the Casualty Clearing Stations. Not very long ago I was near the Belgian coast, where there is a splendid Canadian Casualty Clearing Station. This was when the first of the new mustard gas cases came out, and the enemy attempted to destroy our men by what they believed to be the most deadly method so far evolved. One of our Canadian doctors at this Canadian clearing station found a way to minimize the losses from that mustard gas. The mustard gas is not only a poison, but it is an irritant also. It has with it some corrosive acid mixed with mustard. The acid disintegrates the tissues of the nose and throat, and the mustard irritates any places of the body where there is any perspiration. There were many cases of this mustard gas poisoning in the first weeks of July, and a Canadian surgeon applied the necessary alkaloid, curing a great many cases, which otherwise would have been serious casualties. It has been proved that the mustard gas has failed, that has

been due, in no small measure, to the inventive skill of the Canadian surgeon who, when emergency came, rose to it and applied science to it.

Coming a little further down south on the front, one day, I found, after the first assault at Messines, Canadian troops acting as tunnelers, and they worked like beavers there for over a year, digging mines under a ridge. It was a great achievement, which aided much to destroy the German corps which was holding that ridge. I also found some tunnelers changed into road-making troops, building roads under heavy shell fire. All through this same area there were hospitals and Canadian Casualty Clearing Stations. Going farther south, below the Scarpe, one found forestry units almost everywhere. They were not only supplying lumber for army operations this winter, but they were doing much to provide fuel to the civil population in France, thus preventing a fuel famine.

But it is not only in working capacities that one finds the Canadians. Yesterday, in despatches, came the news of the splendid achievements of the Canadian cavalry, which rode full tilt at German guns and put a battery out of business. These cavalrymen have been in that section of the line practically ever since the Somme operations last year. They did the same thing in March last. One cavalryman won the Victoria Cross in a similar situation. You do not hear much of these men, but occasionally reports of their bravery come through. They are upholding the honor of the Maple Leaf as much as the men of the Canadian Corps are. They are heroic fellows.

But it is of the corps itself that I would speak to you for a few moments. I heard the other day—this was from an intimate friend of my own—that it is being said that the British people despise our Canadian troops and do not appreciate their services. That this was the real opinion of the British soldier regarding the Canadian soldier in the field in France. I was able to assure my friend, and I want to assure everyone in Canada, that there are no troops on the Western front more appreciated and more worthy to be prized by the high command than the Canadian corps. The words of praise I have had from senior officers concerning our boys

are such as I would not care to repeat here. One might say that they were almost too great; but this one can say with assurance that for a stiff job, for something that needs brawn and resource and something of the German shrewdness, there are no troops more highly prized by the commander-in-chief of the British armies in France than the men of the Canadian corps. And there is reason for it. Since these men went into the field early in 1915, they have fought in addition to many smaller engagements, six great pitched battles which in any of the wars of the past would have been regarded as engagements of the very greatest magnitude. One need but recall how they faced the first German gas attack at Ypres, in 1915—faced it and stood against it and barred the road to Calais. In June, 1916, a year later, probably the greatest test of the valor of the Canadian corps occurred in that German attack in Sanctuary Wood around Hill 60, before the British artillery had reached its present pitch of perfection, when there was the greatest concentration of German guns made against the Canadian corps, their trenches wiped out, their shelters destroyed, and out in the open they had to fight against the best Prussia could send against them. They had to give ground for a time, but within two weeks the line was restored, and the road to Calais once more barred by these intrepid Canadians. I doubt whether we yet realize at what tremendous cost that was done. I know one battalion went into that fray six hundred strong and came out with sixty men and two officers. It was a great battle. Then we come to the Somme in the fall of 1916. Canadians had proved their worth as defensive troops, and they were now to prove their valor as offensive troops. The first sweep of the German advance had been held up, and around Courcelette there was very terrible fighting. These lads of yours, on the 15th of September and in the other fights that occurred in that month and October, won their way through defensive positions that had been regarded as almost impregnable, and their valor drew very grateful acknowledgment from the leaders of the French armies in France.

Now we come to this season's campaigns. There were three engagements of the first class in the first eighteen months of their service. In the last six months there was Vimy Ridge

in April, Hill 70 in August, and in October the Canadian troops in France fought three great battles upon historic ground, and in every case have won ground that on other occasions resisted sharp attacks. I shall not speak of Vimy. It is historic. Most of you know that story intimately. I shall not speak of the last, Paschendaele, because that occurred a few days after I left the front; but I would like to speak, in some detail, of the operation at Hill 70, and show you what it means in modern warfare. The front there is thirty-five hundred yards in length and fifteen hundred yards in width. In the fall of 1915, in four days, in hurling itself against that position, the British army lost not less than 45,000 men and probably more than that. They succeeded only in taking a little bit of the slope of the hill, and the men who reached the crest of the hill, the Scottish Division and the Guards, for the most part never came back. I was talking to a Guards' Officer who took part in that first battle of Hill 70, and he told me that in one afternoon the Guards Division with which he was connected, lost on an assault upon Hill 70 sixty-seven officers and four thousand men, without reaching the summit. That whole area to the west of this battlefield is a graveyard. One cannot put a spade in it anywhere without digging up human bones. It was upon that ground that the Canadian corps centered its force during August of this year. After General Currie took command of the Canadian Corps, it was decided that an attack from the north by way of Hill 70 was the one way of carrying that section of territory. That operation was decided upon very early in July, probably at the end of June, and the Corps was removed to that frontage. One division alone remained south. Now the first thing to be done in an operation like this is to prospect the ground. The first thing was to send the aeroplanes over to discover the condition of the opposite trenches, so that the maps might be corrected and brought up to date for the men engaged in artillery work. We hear much of the aeroplane as a fighting machine. Its greatest importance is not as a fighting machine, although that is growing; but as a means of discovering what Wellington said was the greatest thing a General had to do,—“I have spent half my life trying to find out what is going on on the other side of the hill.” Aeroplanes went over day after

day in the early part of July, photographing and photographing until in the Intelligence Department of the Corps there was a great museum composed of little bits of photographs taken at a distance of about seven thousand feet above the ground, and from those photographs the maps were corrected, and from the maps it was discovered what was left in the trenches to destroy. As an intimate touch it might be interesting to tell you how the Intelligence Department find out whether the trench is used or not. We could not discover whether the trench was occupied from the ground, as we were on low ground and it was on high ground. These aeroplanes went up day after day, and on the photographs they took one could see a little dot here and there. The photographs were closely scanned and these dots carefully noted, and the next morning another photograph of the same section was taken, and if the dot was not in exactly the same place, and if this occurred for two or three days, it was concluded that the dots were the helmets of German soldiers, and that the trench was occupied.

After the aeroplanes had done their work day after day, the guns were brought up. One hears, coming back to Canada, about the overpowering weight of the British artillery. It is very great, but it would be a mistake to suppose, and I think the people of Canada ought not to be permitted to suppose, that the whole Western front is covered with guns, locked wheel to wheel. Both the German army and our own have to move guns from one part of the line to another to enable concentration to take place. Well, the guns were brought up and set at the job. I want to give you businessmen of Montreal some idea of what a job like that costs in money and time. These gunners, thousands of them, labored for a month, in the sweeping away of these four lines of trenches and the communication trenches shown on this map. Day by day, with absolute monotony, the guns pounded away on the destruction of the wire. General Morrison tells me—he is the head of our artillery and has gained a great reputation in France (and by the way he is an editor, was editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* before he became a soldier)—that it takes on an average about a shell a square yard to destroy such heavy wire as was on Hill 70. There were four lines of wire, each

3,500 yards long. Each shell that was used cost \$22.00, and I figure that the first attack on Hill 70 by our artillery cost a little over 140,000 shells at \$22.00 a shell, but that was not all. There came foggy nights, the enemy went out and repaired the wires, and a large part of the work had to be done over a second time. I think it is not over-estimating to say that the cost of the cutting of that wire on Hill 70 before a single soldier attacked the Hill was not less than five million dollars, and that on a small section of the front, a little less than two miles long. From these figures one gets an idea of what a tremendous mechanical job it is, this war. It is only once in a while that the glorious flares of valor come to us, yet in between times, day by day, the artillerymen, stripped to the waist, are working like coal heavers handling thousands and thousands of tons of shells, working to destroy the enemy's positions. And they are not working in safety. Just another little intimate illustration. The Germans began to use mustard gas against our gunners. A common trick was to send a lot of tear-producing shells into one of our gun pits, so that the gunners would have to remove their gas masks, and with tears streaming down their cheeks would try to rid themselves of the trouble, and the moment afterwards, when the men were exposed, they would send over shells containing a high explosive and mustard gas in combination, and try to kill them. These are the tricks of the trade, and I don't say we don't do as bad; but it shows that the gunner away back, miles behind the front, is often as much exposed to danger of death by gas poisoning as the men in the front line trenches.

Well, after the guns had done their work on Hill 70 and the aeroplanes had checked the work, the hill was pitted with two or three hundred thousand shell holes, some small, but many of them made by 15 inch Howitzer shells, holes into which you could place the average two-storey house. Then the infantry went forward and the whole engagement, the taking of Hill 70, occupied less than four hours of time. The men went forward with ardour. They had been held back for a whole month, and when the moment came for the infantry to go in on the assault they swept over the whole hill, captured a large part of the garrison, and put the remainder out of business. It looks and sounds simple, but that was not what

made Hill 70 a great battle. The first assault was the smallest part of it. From the afternoon of the 15th of August until the 22nd, the enemy brought up to that hill from every part of the Western front the finest divisions of his army. Over and over again the Canadians attacked and resisted counter-attacks made by the enemy in an endeavor to recover that Hill. On one occasion, these two bodies met in the mist in the early morning on the top of the trenches, and they had to fight man to man, almost without weapons—with clubbed rifles which is no weapon at all. These men wrestled on that trench, and in that effort of physical strength and endurance, the Canadian men conquered the very best men the enemy had on the Western front.

I want to say now something of the remarkable heroism of these men of yours at the front in France. I will give you one or two instances of that fight. The one that stands out as the most heroic thing was the story of Harry Brown, a runner in one of the battalions. His company got cut off and was in danger of being surrounded and either destroyed or captured. The company commander wished to send a runner back to battalion headquarters with news of his trouble. Harry Brown was sent out with a message to the battalion commander. He had not gone very far when he fell and he was believed to be dead, so a second runner was sent out and he fell. The thing looked hopeless. The little body of men determined to sell their lives dearly, but an hour afterwards Harry Brown, with one arm gone at the shoulder and the blood staunched, appeared in the battalion headquarters, held out his message, whispered the words: "Important message," and fell back into the arms of an orderly and died a little while afterwards in the Casualty Clearing Station. He got the Victoria Cross. His company was saved. He saved those men who trusted him to bring the news through. Another man who also got the Victoria Cross was Frederick Hodgson of the Twentieth Battalion, he too went out alone; he too died, he too won the Victoria Cross. He had nothing to do with the machine guns, but he saw that a machine gun which was holding a communication trench and preventing the enemy from advancing, had got jammed. The gunner had been killed and there was only one man left. Hodgson

went forward, dug the gun out, cleared it out and started the man at his work again, but once more the gun jammed—it was evident that the gun alone would not stand the advance of over forty Germans who were coming up the communication trench to get at the little company back of it. Hodgson did not hesitate. With his bayonet and rifle alone he jumped over the parapet, went down and went forward to meet that body of Germans. They found him afterwards, dead, with fifteen of the enemy around him. There are no words of praise, no words of praise for achievement like that. It means that these lads of ours, hundreds of them, if the opportunity arises are willing to sell their lives so that their companions may save theirs. Just one more case, still in this same battle of Hill 70. A French Canadian, named Audette, was in a company which was being very heavily pressed, and forced to retire from their post. He and a companion were left behind—they had volunteered as a rear guard. They held the position while their company retired, then Audette told his last companion to go on, and the last seen of that man, that devoted, heroic man, he stood alone on the parapet of his trench, discharging his rifle as rapidly as he could into the ranks of the advancing Germans.

All our Canadians there at the front are worthy of the best blood of the land. Now is it any wonder that with devotion of that quality our Canadians should occasionally be given a post of honor. I have heard criticisms since I returned to Canada, that our men were given more than their share of offensive warfare. Here, in the presence of men who count in the life of Montreal, I want to deny, in the most emphatic way, the assertion that our Canadian troops are given any worse work to do or any greater quantity of it than the other troops at the front. Just let me say a word here about the very last, great struggle that has taken place in which our men were engaged on the Western front—Paschendaele. In that engagement the ground to be taken was of the utmost importance to the British army. It was the last high land between the Ypres front, the last bulwark that would save the German line from the possibility of being swept off the Belgian coast. Now they are in the mud and we are on the height, and they will get this coming winter what they

gave us in the winters of 1914 and 1915 and 1916. To take that ground was absolutely vital to the army. The Australians were brought up and did splendidly, but they did not get quite to the top of the crest. A New Zealand division, composed of some of the finest fighting men of that whole Western front, was put at it. I am not disclosing any secrets, because this information appeared in the London Times, when I say that that New Zealand division in a single afternoon, in an attempt to take that ground, encountered wire which had not been cut, for its existence had not been disclosed. They lost five thousand infantrymen out of twelve thousand men in the division in that assault. They did not succeed. After they were withdrawn, having honorably done the best they could, the Canadian troops were brought up on the same ground, and because the Canadian artillery knew that the wire was there and swept it away, their great success occurred in the Paschendaele fight—they captured the whole position which had, in a single afternoon, cost five thousand casualties to their brothers of New Zealand. They captured the whole position, with a loss of something like nine thousand men. It was a great victory. It had serious cost, but I am confident when the story of this war comes to be written, Paschendaele battle will take its place with Vimy and Hill '70, and the story of the gas attack of Ypres, and Hill 60, stories of the work done by the people of Canada in the defense against the new barbarian.

These things cost. You cannot destroy a splendid military machine, so perfect as that of the German Empire, without cost. Our men at the front are not quarreling about that. Their quarrel would be if they were held back and not permitted to do their fair share of the work that lies before the armies in France. Speaking to you men of influence here, whose opinion carries weight in this community, I would ask you to remember that not a few of these men who are doing these heroic things, who are making the name of Canada honorable throughout the world, have been for almost three and a half years without seeing their friends or greeting their families. Exiles from home since the Autumn of 1914, there are but few of that original first division left. Some of the battalions have as few as twenty-five. The biggest battalion has only one

hundred and ten men who went with it, when they sailed from Valcartier in the Autumn of 1914. I ask you if it is not reasonable for the people of Canada to make an effort to send to these heroic men, immediately, the adequate reinforcements that they require. Children have been born which they have never seen. Parents have died, wives have passed away. How much longer shall it be said that the Canadian people do not understand how deep and how great has been the sacrifice of these men, and are not willing, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to do everything possible to fill up the ranks, and keep the name of Canada before the nations as high as it has been raised by the valor of your immortal sons?

(December 3rd, 1917)

## PRESENT CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA.

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By DR. JOHN R. MOTT.

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I HAVE always felt at home in Canada. The past of our nations, which is identical in all that is most essential and formative, would have been sufficient to make one forever at home on this side of the line in the deepest things of life. I have had the ever-growing affection, in my world journeys, for these two nations, who, while preserving their individuality, their absolute independence and autonomy, yet have a common destiny in a very special sense, and common tasks in the world. It is with this sense of oneness and solidarity that I find myself here to-day. But these backward and forward influences and views have not been comparable to the present-day fatality, in leading one to feel himself identified now as never before with the nation on the other side of the line than his own. There are various kinds of unity, but there is none like that exemplified by the work of the wine-press, which takes the separate grapes and crushes them into the common liquid; and so it is that we have passed into those days in which the very life-blood of these two nations is being blended for the common service of the world. One of your most distinguished citizens said, not many months ago, before the United States entered this struggle, in talking with me in my office: "Mott, unless America does unite with Canada in this great struggle, there will be created a chasm between these two great nations as deep as Hell." Be that as it may, that possibility happily can be put behind us, and we can fix our minds on the great central reality, that we are being blended in this most momentous process for great and constructive services in the world.

Now it has been my opportunity to visit Russia four times during the past twenty years. The first visit was

approximately twenty years ago. Then I found closed doors, virtually, on every hand, and the Russian people exceedingly inaccessible. Such gatherings as I held then, in Russia, were held between twelve o'clock and four in the morning, in absolute secrecy. It was a fool-hardy thing to do, not so much because of risks to myself, as of dangers engendered for those with me; and had I been found in discussion with even five other men on a street car, all of us would have been subject to arrest. I went away from Russia at that time with a sinking heart, and I honestly never expected to see the day coming with that great people.

I returned to Russia about ten years later. At that time, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, that most bureaucratic and powerful of churches, did not wish me to go forward on my mission; but there was a very strong man in power as Prime Minister of Russia, and he wished that I should have a square deal, so that the largest theatres and government buildings and other halls were obtained in the great cities of Russia. And they would not hold the multitude of the so-called intellectual, agricultural, commercial and industrial leaders of the various classes of society in Russia who came together to hear my lectures. They insisted on my giving not simply one address, and they were not satisfied with two, they never would let me off with less than three or four. Every word was fully interpreted through my two interpreters, and as this was a long process the meetings were naturally long, about three and a half hours. They had a delightful custom of pausing between these addresses and walking about the hall, drinking their glasses of tea, so one had an opportunity to get his breath. At the end of those long discussions I would come out exhausted, and though I could not speak Russian, and but few of my audience knew the English language, those men would throng me on every hand; and even the poor students, many of whom lived on but one meal a day, would pay street car fare out of their poverty to ride along with me. There was a feeling that I had brought a message of hope to them from other lands, and possibly they could get some strength and courage from me, with which to meet their adversity. I went away from Russia on that occasion with a very different feeling from

that which I had had ten years previous. I seemed to think I could detect the crumbling in those massive walls, and around me I could feel the growth of a larger understanding and sympathy for the Russian people, and cords were being wound round the hearts of our people that will never weaken.

I came back to Russia on my third visit a year ago last summer. I was on a mission in connection with prisoners of war in the central countries. Some of you know the meaning of the words, prisoner of war. I have occupied myself with as much strength as I could command in ameliorating the condition of the prisoners of war in the various belligerent nations, and on that mission I have gone over to the war zones four different times. This was the third of these journeys. The Russian people insisted on calling me a saint. They had heard of some of the service I had been able to render to the many prisoners of war. While I was there I heard on the occasion of my second visit to Russia, the Holy Synod had decided that I was never to be allowed to re-visit Russia, and that I would never be permitted to give lectures again. On the occasion of this, my third visit, I was summoned to the Palace of the Holy Synod, and the head of that same Holy Synod that had said I should never again re-visit Russia, insisted on presenting me with an illuminated copy of the Gospel, inscribed in his own hand, in appreciation of the services rendered to the Russian prisoners. Well, I returned, for the fourth time, to Russia this last summer. I was talking to the President one day, relating to the services of the enlisted men, and he said to me: "There is another thing I would like to take up with you. Will you consent to go over to Russia, as member of a diplomatic mission I am planning to send?" I said: "It is an awkward moment for me to get away from this country, but I believe in the principles of the selective draft, and you see on both sides of the fence, so if I can serve my country in Russia better than I can at home, certainly I will go." Well, I was sent on that errand in a company of which I was unworthy, with that splendid American and great man, Senator Root at the head. We went by the Pacific and Siberian route, and returned by that course. We threaded our way across Russia from end to end, nearly seven thousand miles, twice. It was a great opportunity to have Russia

unfold, with great vividness, before one's eyes—that vast, contiguous territory, with nearly two hundred millions of people, located in the belt of power where we find the other greatest nations, Britain, France, Canada, United States, Japan, China,—blending the two greatest strains, those of Europe and Asia, having the three greatest religions of the world, Christianity in its varied forms (Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic and the Protestant), the Hebrew religion—there are more Jews in Russia than in any other nation, and the Mohammedan—Russia is the third Moslem power in the world.

I remember when I was going to Russia on my second visit, Theodore Roosevelt, then President, sent a letter by me to be read to the young men of Russia on occasions I might deem appropriate. In that letter he had this sentence, and I confess at that time I did not see its significance, but I have come to see it since: “No land more than Russia holds the fate of the coming years.” That suggestion came to us with great strength on this recent errand, as we had access to all phases of the varied life of the Russian people and the Russian nationality. Might I pause here, to say that I absolutely resent many of the stigmas that I find placed by journals and periodicals of the United States and the English-speaking world also, by many a speaker on our platforms to-day, and the countless superfluous criticisms and judgments being made in ordinary conversations about Russia, day by day? I resent this, because this is not the way to treat an ally. The time of times to stand by an ally is in the darkest hours of that ally. When you think of it, that is what allies are for, and we cannot play into the hands of Germany more effectively than to show a sense of distrust and lack of confidence in our allies. I ask you what country have you ever visited or ever read about which has had, simultaneously to deal with these four great undertakings? First, to enter into the greatest war in the history of the world. For over three years she has stood and maintained one vast front of this struggle, a front nearly twelve hundred miles long. She has stood there in isolation, not having, for example, as the splendid French army has had, at one elbow the armies of Britain, of Canada, of Australia and New Zealand, and at the other the army of

Italy, and now the United States draws near. Russia has stood there, enduring colossal, almost impossible strain. In the second place, she has been engaged in the most remarkable political revolution of modern times, sometimes I think the most remarkable that has ever occurred, a revolution which has already swung her irrevocably from an extreme, benighted and cruel autocracy to the extreme of a co-operative, democratic Republic, or a series of republics linked together by some federal system, or not, as the case may be, but in no case likely to revert to the reactionary type of before the revolution. In the third place, Russia is now in the midst of the most bewildering and fascinating social revolution that has ever swept over a great people. The Russians, to-day, are facing the most obstinate social facts and forces with the simplicity, with the sincerity, with the courage which puts to shame at times, I think, America, Britain, Germany and France. Russia has come to close grapple with the most distressing and the most discouraging social conditions. It is true they are making their mistakes. It is true they have got many blind leaders of the blind; but as you draw near the great heart of Russia, and become familiar with the problems they are facing, and recall what Russia of yesterday was, you cannot but admire even their misguided desires and zeal, and rather than hand them over to the enemy, we should be trying to furnish them with proper guidance. In the fourth place, Russia is now in the midst of the most remarkable religious revolution that has ever happened to a people in recent centuries, a revolution that has already brought about the democratizing of the Russian Orthodox Church. It seems only yesterday that I attended in a church known as the Cathedral of Our Saviour, in Moscow, a democratic election of the highest dignitary of the church. For over six hours the election of that great dignitary went on. All classes of society, from peasants to princes, men and women—the women have got everything the men have in Russia and will never let it go—they are some leagues ahead of us, you see—I saw them deposit their votes, and saw those votes counted in the presence of the voters, and then saw this man who was elected commended to Almighty God, with his great responsibility. This revolution of a religious character has already brought religious

tolerance. I sometimes wonder whether I am awake, when I think that the Jews—what people have been more persecuted in your day than the Jews of Russia?—the Protestants of Finland and the Roman Catholics of Poland, as well as the Moslems, all of these and countless sects of the Orthodox Church, all these are on an absolute equality with the Russian Orthodox Church. When you think that it was only yesterday that we read of those frightful Rasputin scandals, what is happening now seems almost incredible.

The cause of unity is advancing apace in Russia. By the way, in that connection, the last day, save one, I was in Russia I called on a Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church. While there I found something new under the sun, as a very high dignitary of the Greek Catholic Church was there making the first call he had ever made on a member of another religious community. As we sat around a little table, drinking tea, I mustered up my courage to say this: "Here we are, representatives of the three great Christian communities—Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Protestant, and the things that would tend to divide us, in the presence of this awful and tragic war, are as nothing in comparison to the things that would unite us." I found these men fully responsive to these sentiments, as shown by their work since. Let me repeat what I said a moment ago. What nation have you ever visited or read of, which simultaneously has had to deal with those four undertakings? You and I, in the United States and in Canada, have got our hands filled with one of these—the War. It ill becomes us in these two countries or in the Mother Country to speak slightly and disparagingly of a nation which has to deal with all of these four undertakings. I believe in Russia. The most enlightening remark I ever heard about Russia was: "You may not understand Russia, but you must believe in Russia." I did not understand these things as well twenty years ago as I do to-day. Then I almost yielded to the temptation to write a book about Russia. But with the somewhat intimate knowledge of things Russian which I have to-day—and I wish to say that with a very vivid knowledge of the weaknesses and the disappointing aspects in the life of Russia—I never believed so strongly in Russia as I do to-day. As to the ground of my confidence

that Russia will come out and come back, first let me be a prophet for just a moment. I fully expect that there will be serious counter revolutions in Russia. I have no doubt, whatever, that there will be great periods of reaction. Russia will not be the first country of which that can be said. Moreover, the hearts of those who are in this war will sink, and will stand more nearly still some day with reference to Russia than has been the case in the past. But having said that, I repeat, I never believed so strongly in Russia in the sense that Russia will come out and come back, and that not in the dim, but in the comparatively near future. The first ground of my confidence is the strength of the Russian people. Have you reflected upon it? The Russians combine the characteristics which mark the greatest races of the world, great physical vitality and vigor, likewise great range and grasp and penetration of mentality. You and I are virtually living in water-tight compartments, with our lack of knowledge of the Russian language and literature and the virility, originality, audacity, and constructive power of Russian thought. The Russians also have great hearts. They are the greatest-hearted people I have visited, of all the forty-six nations that I have visited. I venture to say, that after this war Russia will be the first land to forget, although she has possibly as much to forget and forgive as any nation, unless it be Belgium. Then the Russians have great idealism. They have got so much of it that they are off the ground to-day, but we could stand a little more of their idealism in this commercial and materialistic age. Then they are the most religious people I have ever met. Even an agnostic in Russia is more interested in religion, and more receptive to the note of reality as contrasted with hypocrisy, than many of the so-called believers in other nations. Then think of the patience of the Russians. I wish you would just pause and ask yourselves what country has impressed you as being more patient than Russia, when you think of what they have been through. For the Russians have a great capacity for endurance. What people have suffered more than certain classes, certain nationalities, certain religions in Russia in your lifetime? These are the traits on which are built greatness, and we can afford to identify ourselves as the allies have done with Russia, and stand by.

The second ground of my confidence in that coming day for Russia is the number and strength of the leaders of Russia. There was Kerensky, that genius, that magnetic personality, that symbol of the Russian revolution, that most daring man, who held together divergent political parties, and turned the most difficult corner that had to be turned, holding these parties together—I wonder how he did it as long as he did. He certainly was not the man for the constructive task—he knew it, his party knew it. Then there was the former Minister of Foreign affairs, a man only thirty-one years of age, one of the richest and one of the most democratic men in Russia. Then there was the Minister of Finance, a really great personality. All these are men under forty years of age. And then there are the men who were out of power and are still out of power—they are strong men. Russia is strong at the top and down at the base, and weak in the center; and I do not disguise the fact that that is very serious, but that is no reason why we should not stand by her. The third ground of my belief in Russia is the principles of the Russian revolution. The more closely you study them, the more clearly they prove to be the principles that have not only led all of us allies to go into this war, but which make us determined to stay in it, knowing that life will not be worth living unless we win this war. We must believe in Russia; not in this Bolsheviki Party, which no more represents Russia than one small section of people can be said to represent Canada. We must not be misled by that uprising under German influence. In my visit to Russia, not one Russian did I find who would willingly play into the hands of the Middle Countries. If I were to mention another cause it would be the great ground-swell of democracy that one finds rising and sweeping over everything. It was highly inspiring, after the previous more distressing visits in the dark night of Russia, to come back and find every stratum of society, nationality and religion, some of whom were so downtrodden that they seemed hardly to exist under the impossible incubus placed on them, at last in the light of dawning day. In thirty years' travelling among the nations, no experience has ever been more inspiring. Nothing can cheat me out of my confidence that, when the people come fully under the spell of that power which made

Britain great, which made Canada what she is, and which is the hope of the United States, its inspiration will be found sufficient to carry them forward. Surely they need guides and allies who are allies indeed, and they are going to find them.

But someone might say: How does this square with the headlines of many of the papers? How can we reconcile what you are saying to us with what is taking place in the Russian army and navy? I will make a correction here—in parts of the Russian army, and in parts of the Russian navy. I would remind you that this contagion of the Bolsheviki has spread to not more than two or three of the fifteen Russian armies. I would remind you that it has spread only to one part of the three great Russian fleets. Then we must ask ourselves this question. If much that we read in the papers is true, who is responsible for the information? If, as we have very good reason to believe, German influences are responsible for the news, we can afford to question whether it is true at all. Now I am familiar with that army. We had, on that last visit of mine, a chance to study it. I want to say that the word to use to characterize parts of the Russian army and navy would be the word demoralisation. When we come to causes for the demoralisation of parts of the Russian army and parts of the Russian navy, we must ask this question: What armies are there which would not be weakened if the same causes were brought fully to bear upon them? In the first place, the Russian army is tired. They have already laid away there in those marshes and in those boundless fields of Galicia, and in the fields and plains of Roumania, and among the foothills of the Caucasus, over two millions of their sons and brothers and husbands and fathers. I did not visit a home in Russia, which had not had the shadow cast upon it at least once since this war began. In addition to this they have over two millions more of their men and boys so mutilated—I can see them now—or their bodies so shattered from disease caused by the war that they will never fight again; and besides all this, they have two and a half million more men and boys, nearly all of whom I have seen, in the prisoner-of-war camps of Germany, Austria and Turkey. There they are, languishing for home, as I am in a position to

know. They are tired, and they are not the only country that is tired. It is not the intention of the great mass of the Russian army to consent to any separate peace. Of that you may set your minds assured. A second cause explaining the shaking of the morale, is the now certain knowledge that they have been tampered with and betrayed in high places. It has come out that one of their leaders had passed the word that guns at critical points in the land were not to be shot more than twice, or rather, two shells a day were to be shot off, at a time when certain guns were shooting thirty-six hundred shells a day. A friend of mine told us of a three-day battle in which he saw one hundred thousand Russians go into the fight, and less than ten thousand come out able-bodied. So many thousands went in without any ammunition whatever, hoping they could get close enough to use cold steel. If people ever say anything to you against Russian courage call them down, and you will find on investigation that the facts support you. A third cause, a very interesting cause, is the flooding of the minds of millions of Russian soldiers with the fascinating ideas of the Russian revolution. They saw light instead of darkness. Why was it that we called it Darkest Russia? Eighty per cent. of the people were illiterate, and then all at once the noon day sun broke. Imagine suddenly coming to know that you and your children could henceforth always walk in the light, that all the advantages of education would be yours. Imagine this idea coming to you for the first time—liberty instead of slavery, which was the lot of many millions of Russians before the revolution; ostensibly they had liberty, but in reality they were worse than slaves. The shackles were broken in pieces, and the people knew they would never be recast. They knew that Russians could henceforth walk erect as free men—imagine this idea coming to you for the first time—plenty instead of poverty, what do not those words connote? I am accurate when I tell you there have been lying down every night in Russia to sleep many women, men and children, millions of them, without enough food to satisfy the natural cravings of the body. Imagine these people realizing that when things righted themselves some day they would all have necessities, and after the war luxuries. You are fair-minded men. Can you wonder that

these ideas coming to the simple-minded peasant for the first time as realities proved to be more alluring, more attractive, than any other ideas, at least for the time being?

The great cause, however, explaining the shaking of the Russian army in parts is the masterly German intrigue propaganda. There has been nothing like it. We do not gain ground by overlooking it. The day the revolution began, Russia abolished the death penalty. That same day one hundred and eighty million people started on a long holiday, a holiday they never had in their lives before, and they have not yet returned. And Germany was there. Oh yes, you will say, in Finland certainly by the thousands. Yes, she was in Finland; but she was also in far larger numbers than people dream, with fell design, in Sweden. And she was in another place—along the fighting line. No, not with soldiers, but some of the keenest publicity men and promoters, and some of the most educated speakers and writers. Also between the time the revolution began and the day we arrived in Petrograd, there sprang into action hundreds of pro-German agitators, not a few of whom bore American passports, who had come in at Vladivostock. They are there to-day—we know some of them, and it is not only what they have said, but what they have written. The Germans had millions at their disposal. They circulated leaflets by the million. They not only used the printed page, but, with a knowledge that puts to shame the allies, remembering that eighty per cent. of the Russians were illiterate, they began to talk, and talk is the most popular thing in Russia now. They held thousands of meetings, and when we were there there were meetings on every street corner. These agitators would go on something like this: "We fought you when you had the Czar at your head—you abolished him. Why fight one another now?" Then they would go on talking "internationalism." Germany talking internationalism! Then they would argue: "The land is now going to be divided, the great estates are going to be broken up. Go home and get your share." Many got their share. Whether they keep it remains to be seen. Or this line of talk: "This war was brought on by the capitalists of England and France, and now the rich men of the United States are coming to get their share. Why have your

sons and husbands shot to pieces to fill their coffers?" There is not a man in this great company to-day that could not answer all these points quickly; but gentlemen, you are not there, your countrymen are not there, the other allies are not there. Germany is there, working day and night; and that leads me to say this, briefly. In the first place let us gamble on Russia, financially and in a material way. I do not mean what that sentence seems to suggest. I do not mean that it will be a gamble; but we can afford to feed in wisely in the next stages of this revolution, if need be billions of dollars. We may have to spend money, billions, but let us do it on this side of the world. It will be money well-directed at later stages, because this war is not over by any means. Spend the money with prodigal hands, and I say it will be wisely directed. In these coming months, and if need be years, spend. The Red Cross likewise should forget itself, as it is in the habit of doing. This will be a year of indescribable suffering in Russia. Believe me as a witness, that anything God will let you do, and the United States and England do, to save from starvation hundreds of thousands of Russian men, women and children in this terrible winter will be wisely spent, for deeds like that will never be forgotten. The Russian people can be won by the heart as they never could be won by logic or force. I wish all the allies could see that. That there is a nation, an infant nation, to be won like all children by the heart. In the second place, let us do what we can to raise the morale of the Russian army. It can best be done by spreading the Y. M. C. A. principle, as we have done in the Canadian, in the British and in the American army, and France is about to follow. If the French army needs it what shall I say of the Italian and Russian armies. I have got one hundred men already to go over there—they are either on the high seas or in Russia to-day, and I am looking for two hundred more. Napoleon said: "Morale is in an army three to one." The Y. M. C. A. maintains the ideals, strengthens the moral nature and the spiritual nature of the soldier. There is something about this modern trench warfare that unless you give recreational sports (the method of the Y. M. C. A.) to the men, and a chance for the men to change their minds, the spirit becomes starved. We must not expect the impossible of the

Russian. In the third place give Russia moral support. I would say that if you and I cannot talk for Russia let us keep silent for Russia. What man has helped you the most? The man, who when you were most discouraged and when things were going against you and others discouraged you, said: "I believe in you and I will stand by you." It is the same with a nation. They do not need us so much under other conditions. That is what allies are for, and I cannot read anything else into it.

I see a day coming when this great nightmare will have been swept away, when the boats begin to come home, and the lanes of travel will be open for free errands again, and we begin to adjust ourselves afresh to the family of nations. In that day I long to see great Russia, the ally indeed of the English-speaking countries. We are at the turn of the road, and it is for us to guide the opinion of the English-speaking people so that whatever else any other nation may do, we will stand by Russia through thick and thin in this most critical time in her history. Our confidence will not be misplaced.

(December 6, 1917)

## AIRCRAFT IN THE WAR.

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By LORD MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU

WITH ADDRESSES BY MAJOR MACPHAIL AND MAJOR BURGOYNE.

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MAJOR SIR ANDREW MACPHAIL

**L**IKE a messenger I come back from your army, and like a messenger I shall go again. There are many things which I could tell to you about your incomparable army; there are many things I could tell to your army about you, if that were necessary; but long before I return they will have had your message, and to them it will be a message of life or a message of death. When I came into this community, in the early days of November, I expected to find, indeed I saw a vision of a people united in heart, as your army is united; but at the first touch of reality the vision faded, and I see a people divided in council, antipathetic in religion, antagonist in race. To-night, as I address this Canadian Club, I am reminded of the time, many years ago, as it seems now, when I also spoke to this Club upon the theme of politics and business, and I tried to explain to you that business and politics were the antithesis of one another, as business meant private gain and the ethics of politics is public good. This distraction between many duties is the cause of this, that you cannot at the same time carry on war and carry on business. I am fully sensible of your difficulties, difficulties which are greater than any European people have to bear, because upon the European has been laid the heavy hand of war, and a direction has been given to life—the way has been made straight and the path has been made clear. You are afar off and have not the stimulating, inspiring effect of war; therefore, all the more what you have done will be counted to you for righteousness. It is quite true that I have heard it hinted (but not said openly)

that you have done enough; and another nation has been pointed to which is relentlessly and remorselessly arming itself, determined not to go into the fray half prepared, as we were compelled to do.

The question is not, is it enough? but is it all? and if Canada, now that you have done so much, holds back a part of the price, then Canada will lie down dead as a soldier among the nations. In this solemn moment of public danger and of private sorrow, there is no time for recriminations. Anyone who has the gift for recrimination will find abundant material, harking back to the folly and waste of Valcartier; but the answer to that is the incomparable Canadian army which has arisen out of it, and the deeds that have arisen out of that at Vimy, at Courcellette and at Paschendaele. Recriminations have been directed against the persons responsible at that time, for what may have been ineptitude, inexperience or ignorance. The answer to that is the names of the men who have taken their places. Recriminations may possibly be directed against a section of the country, against even a whole Province; but the answer to that is that famous battalion which we always knew affectionately as the Vingt-deuxième. But this army of which I have been speaking is now an army without reserves, and an army without reserves is a defeated army; and those responsible for sending reinforcements, if they do not send them must be held to acquiesce in defeat. And that is the situation which actually has faced us, the situation which faces us to-day. As the army looks at it, it seems that the stream of reinforcements has dried up, that the voluntary system of enlistment has done its work. The old system takes from you the flower of the flock, takes men of high spirit and leaves behind the more stolid ones; but for the business of the army there is work for the stolid as well as for the high spirited, and a man's feet are just as important as a man's brains. And so the message which I shall bring, a message which the army will have already heard, is one which they are anxious to hear, because many of these men have already passed their fourth winter in the trenches. Beyond this enormous audience, which I have the privilege of addressing, I see another audience and I hear their cry: "How long, oh Lord, how long?"

## MAJOR ALLEN H. BURGOYNE, M.P.

This is the first occasion on which I have had the privilege of addressing an audience in this great Dominion. I have been given a subject of unusual size to deal with in a very short time. I am put down to tell you something of what the navy is doing in this time of national and Imperial crisis, but I want you to bear with me very kindly—I am here now on a mission, the very junior officer on the staff of my distinguished chief, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, who has come here with the definite object in view, to stimulate further the great interest already shown by the people of Canada in the necessity for developing aerial warfare, towards obtaining victory in this campaign. Under the circumstances you will forgive me if I confine my very few remarks to a very few minutes, and I propose to put them as an answer to this simple question: What is the navy doing?

Now I have been permitted to talk to the men of many training brigades in the United Kingdom, and I have always been asked to answer that same question—what is the Navy doing? that question is put because of the fact that the Navy is justly known as the silent service. They do not like to be advertised, the men of the white ensign. But just glance for one brief moment at what has been accomplished. Germany is putting up a great fight—do not let us depreciate our enemy; but she has lost every one now of her colonial possessions. Not a ship of the German mercantile marine can or dare sail the oceans of the world. Thirdly and greater than all of these, we have been permitted, by the power of the British Navy to utilize the gallant services of those men who have gone forward to help the Old Country from overseas. You Canadians could not have sent your sons and brothers, Africa, Australia could not have done so, had we not the knowledge that in the transport and maintenance of those divisions in the field we had the protection of the British Navy. Those are great factors in a great fight.

You are going to have a navy week soon, and I am commissioned, as one of the Senior members on the commission of the Navy League in the Old Country, to give you a message of congratulation in advance, and the hope that you will

have great success in that week, from the President, who is an uncle of Lord Montagu.

It is a great thing that you have to do for the men of the Navy. They have not asked you to tell abroad what they are doing, but there are things to be done for them as for the men who are fighting in khaki. Your opportunity is come now to show what may be done for those who are risking their lives daily at sea; and never forget this, and these are my concluding sentences—that we in the old country are a tiny people. You are on the outside of that ring that runs like a thread through that little heart of England, and we are proud of you. It is to you we look to help us in the maintenance of that communication between the outer realms of Empire and the small, struggling heart. It is a fight for justice, for freedom. A fight to maintain that same flag which covers us no matter what part of the Empire we may live in. When this week comes, remember that we are dependent upon you for financial and for heartfelt support to carry it through, as you have shown you are able to do with courageous patriotism, in the fulfilment of the Victory Loan which has just been accomplished.

#### LORD MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU

I come to Montreal once more and do not feel a stranger here. It is twenty-nine years ago, September last, that I first passed through Montreal, and it is only five years ago that I was here once more. I almost begin to know my way about your streets without having to ask, and I mark every time I come here the wonderful growth of Montreal, and the wonderful energy and enterprise of its citizens. But before I go on, to-night, to tell you something of aircraft and the effect of it on the war, I would like to express, most sincerely to the Province of Nova Scotia, and to those who have lost friends and relatives in this great explosion, my personal sympathy, and I am sure I may add the sympathy of you all as well. Such catastrophes as this great explosion are bound to happen in war, when we are transporting very highly explosive material in ships which are liable to be run into or blown up; but I am sure I may tell those in the Old Country, and this news may go to the Germans, that such events will in no wise

detract from our determination to win, and instead of acting as a depressing influence upon us, will only tend to make us set our teeth and work the harder.

It is unfortunate in some ways that I have come to you at this time, in the middle of a hotly contested election. I was in the House of Commons for many years, and as an old M. P. I know what contested elections may be like; but it is my business to have nothing whatever to do with politics in this country. I come here to put before you the great subject of aircraft in this war, and before I finish to-night, when you have heard what I have had to say and seen the pictures, you will agree with me, I hope, that aircraft are likely to become the most competent source from which we can hope for victory. Before I go into the construction of aircraft or what they can do, I would like to pay this tribute to Canada. Your sons have done great deeds in the air at the front. I have seen squadrons there in which many Canadians were pilots, and there were none more gallant and none more skilled in their work. But I have to make a request to you to-night, and through this great meeting to all Canada, to tell you that we cannot have too much of a good thing, that we want more pilots, more mechanics, more officers and more men both for the Royal Naval Air Service and for the Royal Flying Corps. Those you have already sent to England have done so well that we ask you to give us more; and I have only to say this, that though the career is, and there is no good denying it, full of risks, it is the career of a hero; and in no other way, in my opinion, can one single man do so much for his country, so much for the Empire and so much for winning the war. We have already established in this country excellent training grounds, and we have sent over the best officers we can to help train over here. I see to-day, and I hope the rumor is true, as I have reason to believe it is, that the Canadian Government is going to establish four or five more training grounds. You will want them all before next autumn comes, for we must not imagine for a moment that we have already defeated the Germans. We are making vast inroads upon them. We have only lately at the front taken ground, of which, unfortunately, we had to yield up a small portion temporarily; but there stands against us still the very fair

fighting force of the German army. There are tasks for us in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and even still to a certain extent in Salonika. All those fronts demand planes and pilots, and the scarcity of planes is a thing which you have possibly not grasped over on this side of the water. I cannot tell you any secrets, but I may put it to you this way, that taking the whole number of aeroplanes on our various fronts you cannot put the wastage down at much less than four hundred per cent. per annum, or one hundred per cent. per quarter. The wastage of pilots is nothing like that, but that being so you can see what efforts are needed to keep even a force of a few hundred or a thousand or two planes in the air. It means we must have replacements for the whole of those on a very large scale and be prepared to have them ready, or else it is no use establishing your squadron. At the present moment—I speak of the time I was at the front about six weeks ago—we had decided supremacy in some of the sectors at the front; but I will be frank and tell you that we were not as supreme as we should like to be in many other sectors. I want to see the time come when we shall be supreme in all the sectors of the front, when from Dunkirk to where we join the French we shall have absolute supremacy, not only over our own lines, but over the German lines as well. When that time arrives many things will follow. Our army, with eyes, will be fighting the German army without eyes. If we can drive out of the air the German aircraft, our infantry and artillery will have an advantage on every side, the importance of which I cannot over-estimate.

Now you will observe that this war began by great forces of cavalry meeting each other. We remember the great rides through Northern France, the raids of Von Kluck. Then began the infantry fighting, from trench to trench, more like the siege warfare of old days; then as this went on, gradually, it has meant that the wastage of human material was very great in taking only a few thousand yards of territory, and the result has been that our progress, though we have killed very many Germans—and that after all is the most important thing—has been very slow indeed. In other words the system of trench warfare to-day is so favorable to the defense that we must look to other means of getting over the enemy's

lines. Well, gradually, our commanders in the field and our General Staff at home have come to realize that aircraft can do what can be done by nothing else. However strong the German defenses may be, however deadly their guns or powerful their artillery, they cannot prevent our pilots from flying over the German side of the line, bombing their artillery, harassing the German troops on the ground. Therefore, we have come to realize that aircraft are as important as infantry in the trenches. If we can establish a very marked supremacy—and no doubt we shall be able to do so in the Spring—we can have every confidence that we are on the high road to victory. It will be immensely superior to the old system of fighting by artillery and infantry alone.

I want to tell you in a few words to-night what our aircraft do at the front. It may be that in front of me to-night are fathers and mothers and sisters and relations of pilots in the Royal Naval Air Service and the Royal Flying Corps, and they may have heard from their own sons and relations a great deal of what I will tell you. First, the Royal Naval Air Service is divided into two sections, one of which is operating ordinary aircraft and working as part of the air forces at the front. But the greater portion is occupied in anti-submarine work around our coast, in reconnaissance work for the fleets, and in various other work in connection with the navy. I can tell you this, and I have some knowledge of submarines, that there is nothing more effective in the way of countering or counteracting submarine attacks than an efficient seaplane patrol. The horizon can be scanned from a plane for a much farther stretch, and much more rapidly than from the watch of the fastest cruiser. These seaplanes can usually drop bombs to explode under water with an amazing accuracy and can usually follow, if the water is anything like clear, and dodge as it may the seaplane can track the submarine to its doom. The seaplane service of our navy to which Major Burgoyne has referred, has grown and grown, and has become so important to our fleet that I am not exaggerating when I tell you that the greatest of our admirals, Admiral Beatty, would not think of taking out his fleet in any large numbers for any serious attack, unless accompanied by aircraft, because they can spot submarines and floating mines for a distance far greater than

any vessel can see. That is the work of the marine side of the Royal Naval Air Service. Both by sea and land the Royal Naval Air Service has covered itself with glory.

Now I come to the Royal Flying Corps. The duties of the Royal Flying Corps are three in number. You who read accounts in the papers may have the idea that aerial work at the front consists mostly of fighting and bombing. The most important part of the work of the Royal Flying Corps at the front is reconnaissance plus photography. Do you realize that almost every morning, except in the most unfavorable weather, when there is a thick fog, reports are going to headquarters and photographs of almost every portion of the German lines before our troops? By means of these photographs you can see where the German ammunition depots have been established, and the direction in which transport is proceeding, etc. No new road can be made until an observer has been sent out. That is a very wonderful duty, and the majority of our planes at the front are doing it. It has not the same sort of honor and glory and glamor about it that attaches to fighting and bombing, but it is none the less valuable to the army. With the size of modern armies, without that constant, persistent reconnaissance work it would have been impossible to carry out the campaign as it has been carried out. If you speak to any divisional commander, or to Haig himself, he will tell you that the information brought in by the reconnaissance planes is so valuable that they practically could not carry on the campaign without it. It needs all the more courage to carry on this work, because the machines must be very stable and slow; also they are not as well armed as the fighter. I think we have not had till recently as good planes in this work as we should have; but they are giving us very good machines to-day, and very good work is being done. The second duty of the Royal Flying Corps is the direction of artillery fire. That has been carried on wonderfully. As the plane flies out over the battlefield, the observer sends off wireless messages away back to the artillery of the effect of the shells, and telling the artillery whether they are on the target, off it, or short of it, thereby giving the artillery new eyes, moving eyes in the heaven, which makes them far more accurate than it would be possible to be without. Then

the third work they do is bombing. Bombing is done at the front, not only by night, but by day and night. In many places, notwithstanding grave risks, our boys come down from heights of fifteen or twenty thousand feet right down near the ground so as to make more certain of hitting their target. These planes are, of course, very fast. One squadron of this kind I saw in which were six Canadians, two or three from this neighborhood, and some from Toronto, men who made an enormous reputation for valor and daring in their methods of dropping bombs by night and day. When you read of attacks on London—and I do not minimize what takes place there—you might, in the future, remember that we give the Germans at least five for one they give us. I do not think many German troops, on any ordinary night, have anything but a sleepless night when they are at the front. We bomb them in their billets, in the fields, near the roads, the railway stations and we bomb their lines of supply. The result is that we have destroyed the morale of many of the German officers and men. The other day our aircraft flew so low over some thousands of men who were coming to reinforce the Germans, that they not only caused immense casualties, but drove them into the woods and scattered them all over the face of the earth; and what is more pleasant to remember, every now and then they catch a high German military official going along in his motor car. When it comes to cavalry, this sort of thing is even more deadly, and on one or two occasions our boys have flown down in the face of a heavy fire of guns and machine guns, dropped their bombs, and flown away uninjured. On one occasion they flew seventeen thousand feet above the line, dropped down close to the line before beginning work, and they carried on their work under the heaviest fire directed at them by the Germans. This requires bravery of a very unusual sort.

The work of aircraft at the front has two effects. It has the direct effect of killing and wounding the enemy's men and of blowing up batteries, etc., and it has the more deadly effect, that of destroying the morale of his troops; and before long we shall be destroying the morale of the German people in the towns near the front. We are hearing a good deal of what is going on in London, not only of the material damage

that is being done. When they come night after night it disturbs your sleep a good deal, and these bombs unfortunately have a great effect, easily understood, upon our working classes in the East End of London, where the houses are not very well built, and a bomb in dropping takes with it the whole wall of a house. The Germans are counting on the moral effect, not on the destruction of buildings and killing the people, and they are perfectly right, but they miss one thing; they do not understand the psychology of the British race. They never have understood the psychology of the British race, but they are going to understand it now. The more London is bombed, the more we suffer in the old country, the more we shall be convinced and determined that the war can only end in complete victory.

Now I turn to another branch of my subject for a moment. I have not told you yet how important aircraft are going to be this coming spring and summer, and why it will be more important then than it has ever been before. There is no good denying that the man power is everywhere falling off. It is natural it should be. You have to carry on in every country certain necessary industries, food production and transport trade, and you cannot take every available man away. A great deal more can be given than some of us have yet given, but I can tell you the Old Country is almost bone dry of men of military age or capacity. There is something we can do, we can make machine power take the place of man power, and I tell you that the most potent form of machine power is aircraft. You cannot go to a single commander in a high position at the front who won't tell you that a squadron of planes, eighteen planes, is worth many battalions of infantry. In the coming year, when our man power and that of all the other nations, including that of the Germans and their allies, will be falling off, machine power becomes relatively more important, and every plane and every squadron that we can maintain in the air will mean that we will have an increasing advantage over the forces of the enemy. It follows that the more pilots, the more mechanics, the more men we can get, and the more training you can do in this country before you send them over, the more you are helping to win this war, and the more you are helping our army at the front. Nothing has been more cheering to those of us who think of the British

Empire as a whole, as a glorious entity, more united as years go on, than the fact that our flying corps embraces pilots and mechanics both by sea and land from every part of the Empire.

There are two systems of putting men at our disposal for this service. There is the system Australia has adopted, of having purely Australian squadrons, and the system agreed upon between Canada and the Old Country, by which Canadian pilots become part of the Royal Flying Corps or Royal Naval Air Service, incorporated in it as a part of the united force. I am not going to dictate to you in Canada what system you should follow or try to influence you in one direction or another, but I can tell you from practical experience that the Canadian system of having Canadian pilots with others in one squadron has hitherto worked out admirably. I most specially asked all the leading Canadian pilots whom I came across in any of the squadrons at the front whether they preferred to train with their fellow pilots from every part of the Empire, or to have an individual squadron of their own, and they said they preferred the former. They get better all-round training, and the healthy competition tends to make for efficiency. I hope this will go further still in the future. I want to see the day not far off when we shall have an Imperial Air service, all parts of the Empire contributing, available for any part of the Empire to use at any time, supported and kept up by all parts of the Empire.

I just want to tell you one thing more and then we will come to some pictures. I often hear it said: Is it not true that there are great risks in the flying service? There are great risks in the pilot's life, compared to any other form of fighting at the front. I have not come here to tell you anything but the truth. There is great risk in every pilot's life, especially when in the fighting squadron; but I say this, that there is no more risk in that, nay, not as much, as there is when an officer is commanding a company or platoon in the trenches. After all it is one of the glories of our youth, that they want to take risks in war. And remember this, that the pilot has certain advantages which the officer in the infantry has not, and he has glorious opportunities. It has always struck me that the flying service, needing as they do initiative, personal courage and individual skill is the very service for the Canadian,

for the Australian, for those coming from the great sister nations of the Empire, trained in an atmosphere in which, at any rate, exaggerated discipline is irksome. You have been brought up to individual liberty and personal initiative, and it is exactly those qualities which are so useful in the pilots in the air. I am not depreciating for a moment the work of the infantry. I am not saying that the infantry are not absolutely essential—the infantry must, after all, take a position and hold it. But the flying service should appeal to every young Canadian more than almost any service, because it calls for individual initiative, the very quality which I find so strongly developed in Canadians. I feel certain, therefore, that parents will not grudge their children, young men will not grudge the risk, and the flying service will appeal to you, to fathers and mothers and children alike, more than almost any service into which a man can go.

I have just got to say in conclusion this: I don't want you to think that the war is not going to be long and bitter. No easy victory is possible. We have often cheery days and gloomy days, perhaps to-day has been rather a gloomy day; but whether it be a cheery or a gloomy day we have to fight on. It is clear that whatever happens to Russia or any other nation—and let me here pay credit to the great assistance which will be given to us by the United States—that we great Anglo-Saxon peoples who stand for liberty and justice, and stand against military tyranny, have got to see this thing through. As regards the Empire, we must realize our losses have been heavy, and will be heavy, but there is no cement like blood, and blood spilt in a just and common cause must tell and tell for victory. There is no doubt we shall have to face more sacrifices, sacrifices of life and sacrifices of wealth. There will, before peace comes, be more aching hearts and more voids difficult to fill. But believe me, the memories of great deeds done in a great war, by all that we hold most dear, for the Empire of which we are loyal and enthusiastic citizens—the sacrifices made by wives, by mothers, by sweethearts, the loss of husbands, brothers, sons—will be, when the loss and gain is totalled up, all to the good; and before the end, when peace comes, I trust we shall all feel that our great sorrows are crowned with eternal glory.

(December 7, 1917)

## OUR CAUSE

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By PRESIDENT JOHN GRIER HIBBEN

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I CANNOT begin to express to you my pleasure in this privilege which you have accorded me, of addressing such a representative gathering as this. I could not, however, have accepted your invitation with any grace or without extreme embarrassment to myself if my own country had not declared war against the Central Powers of Europe. Thank God I can say to you to-day, and I am taking that, in a general way, as the topic of my few remarks, Our Cause. If I had to say to you merely *your* cause, which, to my own personal humiliation I had to say for these many years, I would not stand before you to-day; and I wish to say, moreover, that I could not appear before you, who have suffered so deeply, so courageously in this war if I had been a late convert to your cause and to our cause. I do not know when exactly I made up my mind that personally my thoughts, my feelings, my convictions were on the side of the allied powers, but I can tell you indefinitely when it occurred; it was sometime between the first and the seventh day of August, 1914. I was then in Switzerland, and during that week the only papers I had to read, the only ones I could lay my hands upon were German papers, and I got the German side presented to me first, and each time I read the statement of the Germans I decided they were dead in the wrong from the beginning. I had great difficulty in getting out of Switzerland—it was not until the latter part of August that the Swiss Government gave to the Americans a special train to Geneva, and then a special train to Paris through the courtesy of the French Government. Just before we pulled out of the station at Geneva, a train having about one thousand British subjects on board was given the right of way, because the British were

in the war and we were not. We followed close behind the British train, with almost a thousand Americans on our train, and we pulled into the city of Lyons about nine o'clock in the evening. The British train was on one track, the American on the other, and a third train was on a third track, rapidly filling with French soldiers going to the front. Just before they left they broke out with the Marseillaise, spontaneously, as though it were one man singing the great battle hymn of the French Republic; and we all joined in that glorious chorus. After that was concluded the British gave their anthem, God Save the King. Then we Americans took it up and gave our national hymn: "My Country, 'tis of thee." I felt then we were in some way, by an indescribable, indefinable, mystical bond, we three nations represented in the streets of Lyons, we were bound together forever. And as I was thinking that, a French woman, evidently of the peasant class, because she was very humbly clad, not with a hat but with a shawl around her head, spoke to me and said: "Will you give me that flag that you have in your buttonhole?" We had put in a little American flag which had been given to us as we left Geneva. I said: "Certainly. Why do you want it?" She said: "I would like to think of it—my son is going on that train—I would like to think of that flag as a sort of promise and a pledge that you in America will come to our help." And then she turned up her face with the tears in her eyes, saying to me: "You will come, won't you?" I said: "Madame, we will come. America will come to your help." It was only a spontaneous expression of a feeling, not of my thought, then, merely of my feeling, and I am thankful to say in that feeling and expression of it there was a prophecy of what America would do and has done; late, I think, but nevertheless I hope in good and ample time.

Gentlemen, what is it that binds together our two nations, in what we may to-day call our common cause? It is not merely that I speak a language that you understand; that we have a common tongue, that we speak the tongue which Shakespeare spake, but rather that we share the moral and spiritual standards which Milton held. Morality binds us together at this time, because we are fighting for the maintenance of those ideas which Milton has given to us. When

that far-seeing scholar of Holland, Grotius, some three hundred years ago laid the basis of international law, he said, in presenting these ideas to the nations of the world: "I am not appealing to the natural man, but I am appealing to all those peoples, in all countries, who in the course of their civilization, have acquired a sense of justice and of humanity and of righteousness." That was three hundred years ago. He appealed to the world upon the basis of a sense of justice, of humanity and of righteousness, and it was an appeal that the Anglo-Saxon blood stirred as it heard. That, gentlemen, is our tradition, that we know the meaning of these terms, justice, of humanity and of righteousness, because we have bowed down, in our most solemn hours in reverence and worship to the God of justice, of humanity and of righteousness.

That is why we are so closely bound together to-day. It is for that reason that along this far-stretching frontier separating the United States from Canada there is no great fortress. We have not got our troops patrolling the frontier, and you have never had yours. We have been able to trust each other, and for over one hundred years there has been no war between Great Britain and the United States. We have had, it is true, our disagreements and some of them seemed at times very acute and very critical, but we have come before the solemn bar of arbitration, and we have settled our disputes and we have never been called to arms. I believe that after this common experience of our armies fighting our common cause, for these great ideas that we hold to be more precious than life itself, there will be a permanent peace between the United States and Great Britain. Another point that unites us is the fundamental idea that Great Britain and the United States have in common of the relation of the individual to the Government. It is because we can speak of government as *our* government, the government in which we have a voice, and in which we have a part. We do not believe—our whole tradition is contrary to it—that any governing power has the right to crush out the sacred personality of the individual. A friend of mine told me the other day that in conversation with a pro-German, a native German, by the way, they were discussing Belgium, the treatment of Belgium by Germany. The German gave arguments in defense of it, and finally said:

"But think of it, with all that Belgium has suffered, what she will eventually gain from this inroad of the German power." My friend said: "What will she gain?" "She will learn from the Germans how to be governed." Think of it, gentlemen! in compensation for all the suffering of Belgium she is going to learn how to be governed by this cruel, crushing, autocratic power, the power which even in Germany itself has stifled the thoughts and feelings and spirit of their own inhabitants. That is what we are against. Our idea of a government of the people and for the people and by the people, is now menaced by the great Central Powers. It is our common tradition. We are bound together by it and we are fighting for its maintenance.

Now let me say a few words to you about America's attitude to this war. I wish to say very freely and frankly to you gentlemen, that we enter this war with no feeling of complacency, of condescension, that we are going in in a magnanimous way to help Great Britain out of a difficulty. I do not know just exactly what it was that Lord Northcliffe said, but from the newspaper reports the impression has been left on my mind that rather foolishly he gave the impression to the English abroad, that America was coming into this war to show the governing powers of Great Britain how to conduct the war, and how to bring it to a successful termination. We did not enter the war with the idea of teaching England anything, we merely claimed the privilege of standing by you, the privilege, gentlemen, of suffering with you, the privilege of giving you the very last crust of the last loaf of bread that we possess. We will divide it with you, and we are with you unto the very bitter end. We can have but one feeling toward Great Britain, toward England and Canada, and that is one of profound admiration for what you have already accomplished in this long-drawn-out weary war. And how we admire the spirit of your Canadian troops as they conducted themselves at Ypres, at Vimy Ridge and more recently at Paschendaele! We speak of your prowess and what you have achieved with bated breath. We are, sir, stirred to the very depths by the heroism, the heroic sacrifices that you have made here in this city of Montreal. What has the great University of McGill done in sending out the

very best of her sons to lead the way for all the youth of Canada to follow? I say to Sir William Peterson that I and my countrymen have a great appreciation of your own personal work in setting the high standard you have set for your boys, which they have realized in offering themselves to this war and going to the front. My only wish is that of us Americans, when the record is finally made, it may be said: "you have been worthy to stand with the British and the French troops and fight with them towards a glorious victory."

We are not going into this war in a purely disinterested way. We are going into this war primarily to save ourselves. The reason that we are safe at this time, that our sons have not already been sacrificed, can be given in one phrase, the British fleet. No man can be so blind in America as not to appreciate the fact that the German programme has America writ large in its lists of the countries that are to become the vassal nations of Germany. If the allies are defeated and we had not been in the war, our turn would have been next, and we would have been compelled to fight alone; but now we can fight with you and I say, gentlemen, we are not going to hold back in America a part of the price. Whatever we have to give, our possessions or the blood of our sons, we will give freely and fully. I heard a story the other day which may illustrate this atmosphere, and the attitude of my countrymen, a story told by a man who came back from one of the prison camps in Germany. In that camp there was a fellow who was either a great genius or a great fool—it is sometimes very difficult to tell. This fellow never received any package or present, and the packages were coming in day by day from friends of the prisoners and he was always left out of the distribution, so he wrote this letter and addressed it to God. In it he said: "Dear God: Others are receiving packages and presents; I have none. Will you kindly send me one hundred marks?" This letter was opened by the commander of the prison camp and he saw the humor of it and sent it higher up, and every time it was read it caused some humorous remark. Finally it came to the General headquarters. Some of the officers were at dinner, and this letter was thrown on the table and read with great laughter. One of the men said: "Let's send this poor devil something." So they took

up a collection which amounted to twenty-five marks and sent it on to the man. The next day, after this distribution had been made and the man had received the money, he wrote another letter, addressing it to God, and he said: "Dear God: I wish to thank you for the one hundred marks which you have sent me; but may I suggest that the next time you do not send my gifts through the German headquarters, because those German officers there kept seventy-five marks." Gentlemen, we are not going to keep the seventy-five marks. It is to be on a hundred per cent. basis, whatever we are going to do, and it is in that spirit that we have over-subscribed our three Liberty Loans. It is in that spirit that we have over-subscribed the great appeal that was made for one hundred million dollars for the Red Cross. More recently, we have just taken up a nation-wide contribution for the Y. M. C. A. We asked for thirty-five million dollars, and the contribution ran up to over fifty million dollars, and that money of the Y. M. C. A. is not merely for our troops who are getting ready to go abroad, but also for the troops now in the field.

Our universities, like McGill, are sending forth our young men. Of our undergraduates at Princeton, and graduates, we have now twenty-two hundred actually in the service of the United States army; and I am particularly interested, if I may say so, in the school for aeronautics. Our men who are going into the flying corps are required to take an eight weeks' course. One of the sections of this school has been located at Princeton, and there are now between six and seven hundred young men training there to join the flying squadrons. There are many of these sections in the United States, training our men for this arm of the service, so that we may get them ready in the shortest time, and with the least expenditure of energy. Within one year's time we hope to have fifty thousand flying men ready for active service, and in a certain sense we hope that they may be able to turn the tide of the war. We have passed our conscription law, and put it into effect, and there are now registered in the United States ten million young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one; the first five hundred thousand drawn from that ten million will soon be sent overseas. Nothing that has ever happened in our country has so brought together

all classes, all races, as this act of conscription. Nothing is such an evidence of the spirit of democracy of the people, when from all classes, from the very highest to the lowest, we can draw upon them and bring them together and unite them in a common host against a common foe. That is what we are doing, and we base this upon what I think is absolutely a fundamental principle, not only of government, but also of ethics, namely, that wherever we have a group of men, it may be a university, it may be a community, it may be a great nation, and because of the group certain privileges are afforded to its members, with every privilege there goes also an obligation. What is symbolised by the flag? We used to say the flag meant protection. We could wrap it around ourselves, in our minds, and we could say, this flag is my protection: who dares to touch me? But through this war we have learned a different story, that it is not so much primarily protection as it is obligation, and a readiness for sacrifice. That is the meaning of the flag, and let me tell you, gentlemen, and I think I read the spirit of my countrymen right, we are in this war, to use a phrase of your British army, I believe, to "stick it." We do not wish any compromised peace or any premature peace. I do not know exactly what Lord Lansdowne said—perhaps if he had not said anything it would have been better—but again he gave the impression to the world that he was ready to talk at least about a compromised peace. The logical order of events—and we must observe this order in our own thinking, and in the expression of our thoughts everywhere—is war, victory and then peace. Now if we reverse it in order, then we take the spirit out of these young men who have gone to the front, who are fighting there, and who do not understand why we at home, are talking about a peace when they are fighting for victory.

When we come to the day of peace, I trust that it may be a peace that will be a genuine peace and a permanent peace for the world, but a compromised peace means just one thing—and let everyone of us hold that before our minds—it means one thing and one thing alone. A compromised peace, a peace at this time, means a German victory, and I wish to tell you what a victory means for a nation which used in war all devices of scientific savagery to pursue its own ends. A

nation barbarous in war will be merciless in victory. We hear it said that Germany will be so exhausted that she will be able to do nothing after this war. It is a matter of amazement to all peoples at this time how Germany has been able to endure so long—she has disappointed the world in all the prophecies we have made of her failure to endure, and mind you she will disappoint us in any prophecies we may make of her failure to recuperate after the war. I say Germany will terrorize the world unless we have victory, and the only victory that will satisfy us, the only victory that will silence Germany and turn her from her course, is a military victory.

The will of the German Government and the will of the German people are united. The German people have been brought up from boyhood and girlhood in a hard and stern school, and there has been this one idea—you must obey the Government. Over everything in Germany of individual initiative is written the words: *Das ist verboten*. They have given that to the people as the great cardinal commandment, as from the voice of God. The schools are under the domination of the Government, the churches are under the control of the Government, the universities are under the control of the Government, and they have been for the last forty years. I have an extract here taken from a paper in Germany, a paper corresponding to what we have in the United States called the *Youth's Companion*, written for boys and girls of fifteen or sixteen years. "In the German heart must live the joy of battle. War is beautiful, it elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit Frederick the Great and Blücher, and all the men who have made this nation. The old women would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam Lance Corporal flings wide the door, and old Frederick, springing from his golden throne will give the order: *Present Arms*, this is the heaven of young Germany." What rot! Gentlemen, I resent Germany's presumption of race superiority. When such a man as Count Reventlow said only a few days ago: "There is a code of morality that must hold between German and German the world over, but has no binding force on any German when

he comes in contact with any other race or any other people," well—think of it, gentlemen! Does it not arouse our righteous indignation? We still have the capacity for righteous indignation, and when we hear a race announcing its superiority in this way let us have anger, a righteous anger, like a flaming sword, like the wrath of God. Let us go into our fight in that spirit.

Gentlemen, many of you, if not all of you, have suffered directly or indirectly from this war. Let us not forget the boys at the front, both living and dead. We cannot afford to be untrue to them, and we are false to them if we listen to any suggestion that may weaken in our allegiance to the cause and our determination to fight this thing through to the bitter end. Let me quote a sentence written by Sir Gilbert Murray which expresses my heart's feelings as nothing about the war has yet done. He has written: "As for me personally, there is one thought always with me; the thought that there are men dying for me, better men, younger men, with more hope in their lives, many of whom I have taught and loved. The orthodox Christian will be familiar with the thought of one he loved dying for him. I would like to say that now I seem to be familiar with the feeling that something innocent, something great, something that loved me, is dying and is dying daily for me. This is the sort of community we now are, a community in which one man dies for his brothers, or as a French soldier expressed it: "When we go into battle the man bearing our colors may fall, the banner may drop from his hands, but he has the conviction that someone will take it up again and will carry it forward into battle.'" Can we assure our young men that if the banner falls from their hands that we, indirectly at least, back of them, will see that it is lifted up again and carried into battle and carried on to victory? Can we give them that assurance now, gentlemen, and shall we be able to give it unto the very end, the day of victory?

Be not afraid, be not afraid!

Oh, dead, be not afraid.

We have not lost the dreams that once were flung

Like pennons to the world.

Be not afraid, oh dead!

Lest we forget a single hour

Your loving sacrifice.

Come but a drum-beat, and the sleepers rise,

To wake again the places where you died.

(December 10, 1917)

## SOME MORAL ISSUES OF THE WAR.

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By DEAN CHARLES R. BROWN

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**I** HAIL you to-day as something other and better than merely good friends and neighbors. You are all that, and the feeling between your Dominion and our Dominion has been cordial and happy for more than a century. When you are happy and prosperous, we rejoice, and when you are weighed down with pain and grief, our own hearts are filled with sympathy. The great disaster which came to the city of Halifax last Thursday morning sent a thrill of pity and sympathy throughout our own land. Before Friday night a relief train was on its way from Boston with surgeons and nurses, and a lot of Red Cross supplies which we had gathered together for our soldiers on board, and before the sun went down on Saturday night another similar train started from New York. I refer to this merely to indicate how we feel, and if the conditions were reversed and the disaster was ours, that would be the way you would feel. We have lived along here together for more than a hundred years, with nothing but an imaginary line, thirty-eight hundred miles long, dividing us, and along that line there is not a single fort, and the peaceful waters of the Great Lakes have not been troubled by a single warship, either yours or ours. We do not believe on the other side of the water, as you do not believe here, that treaties are mere scraps of paper, that international good faith is an empty phrase. We regard that notion as a dangerous heresy, and we are even now engaged, with you, in conducting a test of this doctrine, a test that the country holding it will not forget for a thousand years. I come to you, therefore, as something more than a neighbor. We are allied together in a common cause, we have seen fit to draw our swords against

the most powerful and relentless military organization the earth has ever seen, and we are engaged in proving it out, whether or not the forces of democracy like Great Britain and fair France and the United States, are able to make good when they are lined up against the forces of a military autocracy; and because we believe it to be a war of righteousness it engages our moral interests as well as all the rest of our strength.

Now, we are a peace-loving people on our side of the line. It is rather significant that our Declaration of Independence was made in the City of Philadelphia, and that our dearly-loved and our first President, Washington, in his farewell address prayed that our nation might be kept from war. During the one hundred and forty years of our national history, only some eleven or twelve years have been given to foreign wars. Our greatest American, Lincoln, in his second inaugural said: "With malice toward none, with charity toward all," and then he went on to pray that we should be able to maintain a just and lasting peace. That has been the spirit of our people, but we do not believe in peace at any price. The price may be one which no self-respecting nation ought to pay. We have never taken very seriously Benjamin Franklin's, saying, although he was a great American: "There was never a good war and never a bad peace." There have been some very good wars and there have been circumstances and instances in which a peace was concluded on terms which were dishonorable to both parties. In our Civil War the men in the North lined up and went to the front to maintain the integrity of the Union, and they were not only braver men but finer men than the men who skulked in the rear, sighing for peace. Therefore, though we are a peace-loving people, we have entered into this struggle, and the financial, the industrial, the political, the military and the moral forces of our country are now allied with yours.

I want to speak to-day of some moral issues of the war which made these countries, now allied together, put on khaki and take the field against that highly-organized system of treachery and crime which is threatening the very foundations of our common civilization. There are three points to be considered:—the responsibility for the war; the method of

conducting it; the end in view. I shall refer briefly to all three of those points. As to the responsibility for the war, we did not want it and you did not want it. It was thrust upon us. Great Britain did not want it; France did not want it. The developments of the last three years have made it clear that there was only one Government on earth that really desired the war and planned for it and was thoroughly prepared for it,—and in those fateful days of July, 1914, declined all the overtures which self-respecting nations might make, looking toward a postponement of this world-wide disaster,—and felt that the day had dawned and the time was ripe to carry out the designs of a mad military caste. It is perfectly idle to discuss now what might have been, or wish it might be otherwise. We are where we are, and our work is mapped out for us by other hands. I do not want to say anything unkind or ungentlemanly about the German Emperor, but to put it in plain English, which is the only language I speak with much facility, I regard the responsibility for bringing on this war and the method of conducting it as being the darkest blot, the darkest moral blot upon any ruler in history; and when the events of these days come to be written up, I believe that will be the sober verdict of those who are to come after us. As to the method of conducting the war, the moral aspect is equally clear. It was made plain at the very start. Here was Belgium, a small country surrounded by powerful nations. Desiring to maintain her own neutrality, not wishing to unite nor ally herself with any one of those nations, wishing to make that clear and binding she entered into a treaty to establish, at all costs, the neutrality of Belgium. Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Germany signed it. When the hour came to test the strength of treaties and the reality of international good faith, Great Britain kept her word, and France kept her word and Russia kept her word, and Belgium, almost at the cost of her very life as a nation, kept her word. She stood there in a place called Calvary and allowed herself to be nailed hand and foot to a cross, rather than deny her obligation. No amount of intellectual shuffling will obscure that fact. Germany's own Chancellor said: "The wrong we are doing we will endeavor to make good when once our military goal shall have been reached."

It has not been reached, and, please God, it will never be reached.

At that very point. Germany struck with a mailed fist at national morality and international good faith. She made herself an outlaw from the company of nations. Nations, like individuals, are trusted because they keep their word. That keynote, struck at the opening of the war, was but the beginning of actions which were followed up, and which are familiar to us all. We saw the shooting of hundreds of women and children, the sinking of the *Lusitania* without warning, and in flat defiance of international law, Zeppelin disasters, a new form of warfare. Heretofore when nations fought they fought with men and only with men. It was reserved for the most scientific and one of the most intelligent nations on earth to have it otherwise. We saw the murder of women like Edith Cavell, we saw tens of thousands of helpless Armenians butchered with the consent of German officers. We have letters from German prisoners in Armenia to that effect. We saw hospital ships loaded with wounded soldiers, flying the Red Cross flag, sent to the bottom on an ugly plea of military necessity. Our own rights as a neutral were trampled on, and we saw, with a patience which seemed to some of us like a lazy acquiescence in lawlessness and crime, our own rights trampled on in the most bare-faced and brazen way. To crown it all, we saw the representatives of the German government, with words of friendship on their false lips, plotting with Mexico and Japan to break up the peace between ourselves and our neighbors. They did not try to break up the peace between the British Empire and us. Even the German, stupid and uninformed as he is as to the psychology and moral processes of other nations, was bright enough not to undertake that. Now these things I have been referring to are not questions of commercial or political expediency, they are questions of right and wrong, and the men in our country with red blood in their veins began to say: "How long, Oh Lord, how long?" And when the President of the United States stood up last April and in the presence of the nation sent out his ultimatum to Germany, the whole country rose and stood with him. Please God, we shall go out and translate his words into action so that every nation on earth

will be able to understand. War is a terrible thing—let us not speak lightly of it. Every man prays that his own nation may be kept from the scourge of war; but there are things worse than war. The acquiescence in lawlessness and crime is worse than war; the loss of the capacity for moral indignation is worse than war; inability to sacrifice our lives even for the maintenance of those principles which alone make it worth while to live in a world of men—that loss would be worse than war; and so the peoples have lined up. It has brought the moral sense of these allied countries to its feet. To me, Germany has done something more serious, more heinous even than the physical outrages inflicted on Belgium, Poland, great as these have been. That more serious wrong which Germany has committed is that she has gone far toward breaking down the faith between land and land, between man and man. By her own infidelity, her world-wide system of spies and treachery, the readiness of her representatives to burn millions of dollars worth of food in neutral countries at a time when so many people are starving, to plot against nations at a time when she professed to be on friendly relations with them, she has gone far to sow the seeds of suspicion among nations, and make us wonder whom we can trust. That is a more serious wrong committed against the world than even the physical crimes committed against those smaller countries. There are just two ways for nations to live upon the earth, one is on a basis of honorable dealing and good faith. How do men in business maintain their integrity and honor? They trust one another, they can enter into contracts with one another, knowing that those contracts will be kept; and nations can live together as you and we have lived here together for more than a century in a spirit of international good faith. The other way relies only upon force and expects to have its way by following out a policy of frightfulness, a method of treachery throughout the world. One of the two methods must prevail, and the Allies have undertaken to see to it that the method of might-makes-right does not prevail, but that international good faith shall continue to be a splendid and shining reality in our modern civilization.

In the third place, let us look at the moral aspirations of Germany and the end in view. What has Germany in view,

what appears in her journals and the writings and speeches of those who have a right to speak in her behalf? First of all an open contempt for the rights of smaller nations—a claim that smaller nations have no right to stand in her way. There is the desire to impose her will by military strength upon other nations, and in the third place to exalt the method of frightfulness and butchery as being great and right. They openly announce that this is the policy they intend to pursue. In 1912, two years before the war, Bernhardt was visiting our country. He came to San Francisco where I was living at that time, and there, through the German Consul, he invited together eighty of the leading Germans, and to that meeting, he also invited two gentlemen who were not Germans, but who had been at Berlin, had been entertained by the Kaiser, and spoke German. He invited them as a matter of courtesy, and there, before that company of eighty-two men, in the German language, he outlined to them what Germany undertook to do in the next war. They were to be in Paris in a month, St. Petersburg in two months, and so on. He outlined it all in 1912, as well as the methods they intended to pursue and the end in view. At that time he was the head of the General military staff in the German Empire, and no one supposes that he was going up and down the world with the help of the German Consuls, carrying on that campaign idly and irresponsibly. We know by their own representatives the end they had in view.

What ends have we in view? It has been to me a very splendid thing that our people in the United States as your people here in Canada have been able to keep their motives so high and so pure. It adds immensely to the strength of our contention. Our young men have gone out, one by one, each one with the strength of ten, because his cause was just and his heart was pure. We have not entered into this war for the sake of profit. Neither you nor we covet an acre of territory of any power on earth. We have not gone in in any sordid desire for material gain. We are, in the United States, becoming disgracefully rich in manufacturing munitions. If we fight this thing to a finish, as we intend to do, it will cost us no one knows how many billions of dollars. We are not going to make money out of this war, we have not entered

into it in any spirit of touchiness because our national honor was offended, we are too strong and too sane here on this side of the Atlantic to plunge a whole nation into war on any such slender plea as that. We have no desire to impose our will upon the German people. We are not here to dictate to them what sort of Government they should have. We are perfectly willing that these people should have what government they want and they like, provided they keep it for home consumption. We confess a very frank prejudice for the principles of democracy and the reign of the common people. We have not entered this war with any thought of punishing Germany, in a spirit of vengeance. We are willing to leave that for the terrible day of reckoning they will have with their own people, when they realize the situation fully. We believe: "Vengeance is Mine, I will repay!" We are not undertaking to take it out of His hand. There are no hymns of hate being composed or being sung on this side of the water. You could not translate them into English or induce our men in the trenches to sing them if they were translated. We have entered into this war so that those people overseas should not be bled white in the resistance they are offering to international lawlessness and crime. We have come in to help them in the strong defense they are making for those principles of justice, liberty and democracy which are the glories and the basis of our own national history. We have come in to do our bit. We, in the United States, have not begun yet to match the sacrifices in money and in men that you have so magnificently made here in Canada. This is my fourth visit to Canada since the war began, and I have seen how very seriously this great country has taken upon its heart this great struggle for righteousness. We are going along, as we believe, in the right direction. We have passed a conscription law, which our people accepted, and more than one million soldiers have thus been called up, and no one, except those high up, know how many hundreds of thousands of those men are already in France. Great numbers are gone, and others are going and other millions are to be drawn by conscription, ready for that common service. We are following along the line that you yourselves have been following for the last three years. My great concern about this lies here. I have no

manner of doubt that our country is rich enough to see this struggle through to a finish—as the calls come one after another money will not be withheld. We are strong enough to fight alongside our noble Allies by land, sea and air. Our young men are brave enough, as are yours, to face all the situations which may arise. My great concern, and my prayer, is that my own country may be good enough in its temper and spirit, to take its proper place in that world-renewal that ought to follow. May God purge our hearts from evil, may he help us to cast out of our national life the greed and the lust, may he lift us to high ideals, and may he make us fit to stand before the Lord, with clean hands, for the great work of world-renewal! There are great tasks to be done in the war; and when we come to a glorious victory at the close of the war there are greater tasks still, and those great tasks can only be done in a high and big way.

If drunk with sight of power, we loose  
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,  
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,  
Or lesser breeds without the Law,  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies;  
The captains and the kings depart:  
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,  
An humble and a contrite heart.  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

If we can keep our motives high and pure, and if we can keep our political insight clear and straight we shall earn the right to a large and honorable place in that world-renewal that ought to follow upon this mighty struggle.

I am not wise enough to stand up and indicate what the benefits are that are to follow upon all this sacrifice. But I notice this, that everything in this world has to be bought with a price, and for the things of highest worth the price is always great; and in this case, while I cannot foresee the benefits, political, industrial and social that will accrue, yet as the price being paid is so very terrible, so overwhelming, the benefits to be secured I believe will be correspondingly great. If we can carry this struggle through in the high way it has been entered upon, then the Almighty, who has in

His keeping all these sacred things, will look down and be satisfied.

Oh beautiful my Country—arise once more!  
What were our lives without thee?  
What are our lives to save thee?  
We reck not what we gave thee.  
We will not dare to doubt thee.  
But ask whatever else, and we will dare!

(December 14, 1917)

## AMERICA AT WAR.

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By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

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I HAD the privilege of being your guest on the second of April last. The day had some importance for me; but it is a day that is going to count in the history of the United States, and in the history of the relation between our Republic and Great Britain; it will count in the history of the world. I was speaking here at noon, at the same hour at which our President was giving in Washington his address to Congress, the address stating the grounds on which America was about to come into this war. I ventured in my talk here to foreshadow the President's message, and fortunately the telegrams which came in the course of the afternoon bore me out. The President said in that message things that are worth while to recall. He said the war was to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against injustice and autocracy; he said that neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world and the freedom of its people are involved, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic government backed by organized force, controlled, not by the will of their people, but wholly by the autocratic governments. That address and the later famous letter to the Pope made a terrible indictment against the Hohenzollern rule, an indictment absolutely true. My only criticism of it was that eighteen or nineteen out of the twenty indictments had been true on the 5th of May, 1915, when the Lusitania was sunk. I belong to the group who held that we ought to have begun our protests with the tearing up of the scrap of paper and the invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania; that it was just as true in May, 1915, as it was true in April, 1917, that the fight

which you men of the British commonwealth had entered into, in which courageous France and martyred Belgium were engaged, was our fight as well as yours and theirs. Our President is a patriot, and he was carrying on his shoulders through those three years a great burden of responsibility and anxiety. He undoubtedly acted, as his thought went, according to his largest duty to the Republic for which he was responsible. My own feeling for two and a half years was contrary to his; but by that message and his later utterances, clear-cut as they are, he stated the position of the American people. That position was accepted also in London, here in Canada, in Paris and in Rome, as making as clear and definite statement as could be made of the position of the Allies.

The demand to state the terms of the Allies has been answered from London, from Paris, and has now been answered from Washington. We have still to hear a statement of terms from Berlin, and when we get them we do not know how much we can believe. It appears to have been the thought on the part of the President, on the second of April last, that the United States was in a position of responsibility in which it could be of large service to the world. I remember a quotation in a paper last week. The Huns had gotten hold of one of our Yankee boys, and they asked him what he was in the war for. This young fellow was rather a sentimental cuss and he said that we owe much to France. She helped us when we were in need, and now we were going to pay it back. "American sentiment," said the Hun. They got hold of a second Yankee prisoner and asked him, and he said: "You have been killing our folks. You have drowned some, and so on." The Hun said: "Are you still telling that old story of the killing of Americans on the water? That is a long way back—it's old history now." Well, that is their way of looking at causes of crime—that it is still unatoned for does not make it less of a crime as the years roll on, but rather more of a crime. The sinking of the *Lusitania* was not only a crime against England, a crime against America, a crime against neutrality, but it was contrary to all that had been heretofore accepted as international law; the contention that the power to capture carries with it the right to kill is a conten-

tion which you and we could never accept and never propose to accept. It is murder, and the crime that was committed in the sinking of the *Lusitania* was a crime against civilization. Now I held then that the American people at that time, with this definite and immediate cause and a readiness to study the larger and general causes, could have been led into this war very naturally. If we had been in it then the war might have been shortened a year or more, with the saving of thousands of lives. It takes time, when such an occasion has passed by, when men's minds have become dulled to the recurring of other crimes of a similar character which no longer bring up just the same emotion, to arouse the national purpose and a clear-cut conviction of a righteous purpose throughout any people. We have with our people, our hundred and three millions, the special task which you do not here in Canada know, or only in part, here where you have some difference of sentiment and some natural and inevitable cleavage of opinion, with two races back of your present system, two nationalities. We have thirty-seven, or fifty-seven, as many varieties as Heinz' pickles. Now the American Rights League was organized at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, to see what could be done in the matter of educating public opinion throughout the country to the idea of entering this war, which we believed and pointed out was our war. We tried to make clear by the help of the documents we could secure, by pamphlets—we circulated about two million of them, and with statements in the big papers, we tried to make it clear to folks what the war was about, and why it was our war. Emerson says every man is as lazy as he dares to be, and some men are very courageous in that way. By the time we got into this war, hundreds of thousands of people throughout the country honestly wanted to know why and what, and it is interesting to see the men handing the word on, handing on the lighted torch. The country is getting roused up. It is a slow business. It is a big country, and there are a good many of us. We have held from the beginning that the foreign policy of Germany was dominated by an immoral code. It is that very immoral code of Germany, and the immoral actions which resulted from that code, that led the American Rights League to try to shape, and materially helped

them in shaping public opinion. We found the actions of William of Berlin and his lying ambassador, Bernstorff—and whenever in the history of diplomacy has an ambassador made use of his privileges in as despicable, in as ungentlemanly a fashion as was done by that lying scoundrel in Washington?—I say we found the actions of those two gentlemen were valuable to the purposes of the American Rights League; so much so that at one of the meetings I had them elected as honorary members. They had brought America into the war, and they were helping us to tell Americans what we were fighting about. We had great difficulty at first in getting any response out of Texas. They had decided that the war did not have anything to do with the cattle trade and they did not feel interested in it, and then Berlin came to our help and those beautiful despatches were sent from Berlin through Bernstorff to the German ambassador in the city of Mexico in which the Emperor tells Mexico that the Kaiser gives Mexico permission to annex Texas. At once letters came to me from Texas. They found they were in this war. Then we are fighting against the pacifists, the dishonest folks and the honest folks.

I keep telling the men and women of the later generation that we have the same task on our hands as we had when we boys were taking our muskets fifty-six years ago. Then in the States the long-haired men and the short-haired women were shrieking that war was terrible, and they were scampering around and making pilgrimages to Washington and bothering poor old over-burdened Lincoln with messages from the Lord. One of these spokesmen from the Lord came to Lincoln and said: "I come to give you a message from the Lord," and Lincoln said: "Well, I need counsel from the Lord; our people need counsel from the Lord. I pray for it, but I can but think that if the Lord has a message to give to the people through me that He will give it direct and not by way of Chicago." Well, it is the same now with the sentimental and the muddle-headed folk, as it was then—and the paid folks, paid as long as the confederate money lasted. We had the same task then. Bernstorff has gone, but Bernstorff's money is still with us, and we are doing what we can to make clear that the free speech these people are fighting for can be treason in time of war, and we are advertising that through-

out the State. We believe that this People's Council, the so-called socialists—because the very best socialist leaders have resigned from their organization—we believe these so-called socialists are guilty of treason, that they are carrying out the purpose of William of Berlin, and trying to do with us what their friends are doing in Russia. But we cannot stand it, and some of us are contending that the sooner we put New York City under martial law and Chicago under martial law the better we shall be organized for war purposes. I have occasion to remember that coming home from Germany in 1861 for the purpose of enlisting, I landed on the pier in New York and was arrested as a Confederate spy. Somebody had sized me up as a spy, and my father was very busy getting a main regiment off to the front and thought I could take care of myself. Somebody knew me and spoke for me as being a reputable person, and so I went off and enlisted. This did not trouble me. I understood the matter perfectly, and it made me realize that New York City was on the job, and I want to see it on the job to-day. I think we ought to do with Hearst and the Hearst papers what we did with a similar man at the time of the Civil War. We stopped the paper and locked up the Editor. Some people have been pleasantly surprised with the way the policy has been accepted by the people of our country of universal service on the part of all those physically capable. There too, you have learned what we older men knew from past experience. In '63 we tried the voluntary system and decided then that the system was not equitable. The best of our boys went and were killed off, many of them, as your boys have been killed off, and in '61 and '62 the decision came to the people, and Lincoln knew for a long time that it had to come: "We want this tax, which is the most essential tax that any nation could place upon its citizens, equitable upon all who are able to pay it." Those arguments counted with Congress at that time, so that when our Conscription Bill came up this time it was passed with the opposition of a little group of pacifists, headed by La Follette of Wisconsin, against whom we have preferred charges and whom we now hope to expel from the Senate. We old fellows know of the horrors of war. Few things are more horrible, but there are some things that are worse than

war. Injustice is worse than war; barbarism, cruelty, the treatment that in this war has been meted out to non-combatant peoples, these things are worse than war. The selfishness and cowardice that would endure barbarism and crime against neighboring nations, those things are worse than war, and there are offsets to the miseries of war.

Between men who tramp together on long marches in cold or heat, who endure the discomforts of campaigns—and there are many—who face the bitterness of defeats, and then have the encouragement of victory, there comes to be a feeling of comradeship. It brings out the spirit of humanity, brings it out as nothing else can do. They come to learn the real value of one man to the other. What is true of the boys at the front is true in a very large measure, particularly as nations are now organized, of the citizens in the world who are doing their citizens' work—the older men, the women, the youth. In working together for a common cause, with a common ideal, for the defense of their homeland, with a recognition that the homeland has obligations to other lands, the people come into an organized, a human relation, a religion, in a way which is uplifting for humanity. It brings the community together in human fellowship, and what is true of the community is true of the nations themselves. The men of England and Belgium and France, and now our own boys in Yankeeland, are taking their share of the miseries of the trenches, the tremendous perils of the defense and the advance, of the burdens of war and all the perils which are a part of a soldier's life, the death of comrades, the willingness to sacrifice their own lives. So these states are fighting together for a righteous purpose, fighting to free the world from the peril of Prussianism, as the Romans fought in the Sixth Century when they drove back the Hun of that day, and in doing so saved the civilization of the States whose representatives in the field are carrying on that work together to-day. They are coming into a feeling of fellowship which puts into the dim distance of impossibility the idea that there can ever again come up between them bad feeling or grievances that might work for war. Who of this generation can look forward to the possibility of war between America and England after this joint task which we have together on our hands? Bonar

Law said the other day in the House: "They speak of the Kaiser as a founder of the Empire, but it is not the German Empire that William is building up." That was true. Law did not need to go any farther, speaking in Westminster, because Westminster knows, and Montreal knows and Melbourne knows that the action of the Kaiser is an assault against the British Empire, against the citizens of the great English-speaking commonwealth; and we all know that the great English-speaking commonwealth has been placed upon a very solid foundation, with the friendly service of William of Berlin. But I take a larger range for the application of Law's description of the Kaiser's service. The Kaiser has not only done his part in bringing into strong relationship with each other all the great factors that constitute the British commonwealth; the Kaiser has done much to build up, he has succeeded in laying the foundations for the union of the English-speaking peoples of the world. Men of Canada, we are on our side of the Lakes ready for that union, we recognize now—and we older men have long come to it, especially those of us who have been connecting links with Britain—but the other people who take their information more slowly recognize to-day that the people of the great English-speaking commonwealth have the same ideals for which our Republic was founded. You stand in England and in Canada just as definitely as we do in the States for representative government. In this war you are ready to fight for justice to the smaller state, for their liberty and their existence. You are showing in this war, as you have in past history, that you are ready to fight for the rights of states not strong enough to fight for themselves, for the Armenians, the Albanians, for their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These are old-time American contentions. My belief is that in advance of the getting together of a League of nations to maintain the peace of the world—it will take time to organize such a League—in advance of that League, and following upon the alliance we have made together for war purposes, there will be an immediate alliance between the English-speaking peoples of the world. We came together to maintain the peace of the world. With the aid of France we can maintain the peace of the world, and if Japan has the

common sense we credit her with, she will come in for the Pacific end of the world, and that is what the combination ought to include.

With every long war there come discouragements. We had them in '61 to '65. I will just give you one little incidental picture that may make the impression upon you that it made upon me. In June, '64, Grant's army fought its way through the wilderness, working its way southeastward toward Richmond, and every step on that troublesome road was marked by the soldiers in Lee's army—although a smaller force, a most capable one—always putting something between us and Richmond. Every time we tried to get around to their left and cut them off they were always there ready to fight, and fight like demons they did. When we came out of the wilderness we had seven days and nights of fighting. We had no sleep, we had very little to eat, we had nothing to dress wounds with and many of the wounded were left as they fell for days. Always before when we had fought for two or three days we would then take a rest, and a good many thought this time that we would be going back to rest; and there before us was a great road with the two forks, the left-hand fork led back to rest, quiet, a little freedom from the probability of early death; the right-hand fork led to Richmond, more noise, slaughter, with a great percentage of loss. No one but the commander of that advance and his adjutant knew what the army was going to do when it did come out of the wilderness. They came to the fork, and the head of the great column turned to the right, towards fighting, towards Richmond. What did that represent? It was Grant's word: "We will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," and the yell went up, a yell of enthusiastic readiness to support the policy of the commander rolled back through the column, thirty miles, from brigade to brigade. The yell went up: "We are going on to Richmond"—and that yell across the lines told to the officers of Lee's army that the confederacy was doomed. It was the death-knell of the Confederacy. It meant the saving of the Republic, because it meant that we had the persistence, and we knew that with persistence we were bound to come out. When Lee got to Richmond he recommended the commander there to give up, though the commander

refused. But my point is simply this, that after all the discouragements and loss of life, Grant, and Lincoln behind Grant, decided that the men who had died should not have died in vain, and they knew that persistence and united effort would win the day for the North. It was a question of will-power and nerve power, and you men of Canada, with all the sufferings that have come to you through the magnificent fighting of your boys from Canada—we have watched the record—and the men of England who have a similar right for pride, and the men of France and the men of poor little martyred Belgium and of Italy—they can be made to realize, and they are realizing it with the strong sentiment of the citizens behind them to back them up, that they have the resources to win out. It is a question of nerve and will-power. It is doggedness that does it, and Britishers never went back on that. We trust that our Yankee boys will put into this fight some of the doggedness that the English fellows are putting into it.

We have in dealing with our American people, as I have explained, to deal with a great variety of factions. We are guided by the principles that have controlled an English commonwealth; but we have taken in, since the Civil War, millions of people of what we call alien races, and while the children of those folk are growing up in our common schools and take on their Americanism promptly, yet we have in our midst a lot of undigested factors and they are a problem. We are doing the best we can with them. The amalgamation of those factors comes when they realize that they have something to do as citizens, whether they are English-speaking citizens or not. Every man has the duty of universal training and service—they have that one thing in common. We conscripted a Chaldean Colony the other day and they did not know what it was all about, but they will soon find out. The English-speaking people are now fighting together. Gladstone said the greatest triumph of our time was the accomplishment of international law. He could not know that one of the great powers of Europe would give its assent to that general principle, and then handle a treaty as though it were a scrap of paper. Independence as between small states and great states, as between weak and strong, safeguards resting not upon the goodwill of nations alone, but upon

civilization itself—in case of dispute not an immediate rushing to the use of force,—that is the English view, the Canadian view, the American view. Let me quote for comparison an expression of the German theory. Bernhardi said that since England committed the error of failing to support the southern States in the American war of Secession, a rival to England's world-wide Empire has appeared on the other side of the Atlantic in the form of the United States, which constitutes a grave menace to the future of Britain. You and I believe that Bernhardi did not know what he was talking about when he wrote that; but you may remember with satisfaction in 1862 the wisest councils of Albert and Victoria prevailed over the wild desire of Russell to break up the American Republic, and the people of England were with those who thought that the American Republic should not be broken up. I think it is realized to-day that irrespective of any righteousness or wrongness in the contentions we upheld at that time on our side of the Atlantic, if the American Republic had been broken up—and if that miserable old gambler Louis Napoleon had had his way, the Republic would have been in four pieces—it would have been one more example to the world of the failure of democracy. The wiser sense of England, with great loss to itself, and the patient courage of England, knew that whatever differences of opinion there might have been between us, the peoples of the two countries belonged together in the larger and finer aspect. We are now in a position, in fighting for our common rights, and for the rights of civilization, to make good the right to existence that was secured for us by the patient wisdom of England in 1861. And right here a word of appreciation is not out of place for the good old Tory statesman, Lord Salisbury, in his action in the Venezuelan affair. He took the larger view. He saw that this was merely a question of bad manners on the part of one so-called statesman. He looked ahead to the larger responsibilities of the two nations, and waving to one side the pettiness that might make trouble he said: "Let us consider this thing on its merits." The decision of the arbitrators was given, the English contention was thrown out, and I imagine rightly so; but the main thing to remember is the point of view of the great statesman, who knew what the two peoples had to do

together. In thinking of that action in 1898, I am almost led to forget the error of that same statesman, in Berlin in 1878, with Disraeli at that time his chief, when they saved the Turk in Europe instead of helping to free Constantinople. The result that has come from that error of policy all you men in the commonwealth know. You must recognize that you put your money on the wrong horse, and helped out the clever machinations of the German statesmen of the day.

I just want to mention here one of the new things I have taken up. I am in about fifty-seven things now, as many as the pickle man. I am on a committee to revise the American text-books of history, especially that section treating with the Revolution. They were written in those days when the feeling was still running high, and one does not see clearly under those circumstances. There has been some improvement made since, but not enough, and we have in hand something which I think will do justice to both sides. As the barriers break down, we shall come into a larger community of joint ideals. This war which we are fighting together for the ideals which we hold is bringing us ever closer together. We have founded our States on the principle of English common law, and with the exception of twelve states, that is the law we hold to; and it is because of the law, the language and the liberty, that with all our alien factions, we are to-day an English commonwealth. I believe that things will take such shape in the near future that the political line will become shattered. We shall realize that tax paying does not affect human relationship, and we shall enter into the larger union of a commonwealth of English-speaking people. We believe, and I think you believe, that a federation of states carries with it the answer to many of the questions in the European political problem.

The fundamental thought is that man or nation has the right to do with his own what he chooses as long as he does not interfere with the other fellow or the other state. I believe when the war is over what is left of Austria will take shape as a federated state, and although in Russia now we have five independent governments, I believe we may see the United States of Russia. It is too far off to get any efficient service from the United States of Russia in this war, but I believe it is coming. But we have a larger task to

accomplish yet. The Emperor William said to Gerard, the other day, that there was no more international law. You and we are not going to permit international law to be abolished by the order of the Hohenzollerns. We believe there is an international law. William does not like international law, but we are re-asserting it. Think of a world in which the word of a man did not count. That is the kind of world we should have if the Hohenzollerns were permitted to have dominion. You and I have faith in the spoken and written word. We do not propose to live in a world governed by anarchy, and we see to-day that despotism is using anarchy as its tool. They are kindred in their general thought, and they are both opposed to democracy. We are fighting at home the American Bolsheviki—I imagine you may have some such element here, working as it does, as it is doing in Russia, hand in hand with autocracy, to control the lives and the liberties of men. We will have none of it. We propose to fight for the establishment of a world's league of nations, a popular association based on agreements between governments and on the sympathy and good will of the people. We want a recognition by the people of joint interests and common ideals. We will accept no peace without victory. Dear old Lincoln said: "This Republic cannot endure half slave and half free, and please God it shall endure." We say to-day, this world cannot endure half slave and half free. Civilization cannot endure with half of the world under the blackness of Prussian rule, under rule by Divine Right, under the control of militarism, in the belief that might is right, and that one people has been given the privilege by the Lord to dominate all the other peoples. We are fighting to-day that the world may be free, that the principles upon which our Republic was founded, and upon which your Dominion was founded and is to-day being carried on, shall be maintained not only for us, but for all people; and we have given the example, you and we, for similar aspirations in Europe. The World's League of Nations is the civilized ideal of the relations of humanity. We are fighting for a peace with justice, a peace with righteousness. No other peace can be thought of, and no other peace is worth fighting for.

(January 7, 1918)

## FRANCE AND ALSACE-LORRAINE

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By M. STEPHANE LAUZANNE.

*Editor-in-Chief Paris "Matin" and Official Representative of  
the French Government.*

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**I**T gives me great pleasure to stand before such an audience at such a moment. I knew long before I came to this magnificent Dominion of the British Empire that you Canadians and we Frenchmen had many things in common. We have the same spirit of liberty, the same love for democracy, the same colors of the flag. But to-day I know something more. I know that you and we have the same heart beating for the same cause. For that cause you have given your blood, the pure blood of a free people, and we have given our blood, the pure blood of an unsubjected people. This has forged between you and us a link which will never be broken.

Gentlemen, you know that this war, this terrible war, this wretched war, as I hear so many of our American friends call it, we have never arranged for it, we have never wanted it, we have never prepared for it, and we have never declared it. You know also how this war has been waged against us by our enemies. It has been waged with the utmost ferocity and with an utter disregard of the most sacred laws of humanity. The other Huns, the predecessors of the Huns of to-day, when several centuries ago they invaded France they at least showed some pity. A French town in Champagne at the request of the Bishop was not bombarded, but the Huns of to-day they have spared nothing. They have killed old men, women, children, and they even killed trees, so great was their lust for killing. I remember when I was before Verdun, in a small village, in a churchyard, I saw a grave on which I saw the name of the man lying in the grave, and under that name the

two following lines: "Shot down, at the age of eighty-three, by the Germans." Shot down at the age of eighty-three—we have seen that in France, oh, yes, and many other things we have seen. Not later than last year, in Lille, the big French town of the North of France, we have seen one day a placard bearing the stamp of the German Commandant posted over the walls of the city, and that declaration ordered all the inhabitants, all the young women, all the young girls, all the children over fourteen years, to leave the city within forty-eight hours, to go and work in the German fields. I have here a letter of an eye witness which I have received recently, and this is what this eye witness saw. At the prescribed hour the population was assembled, and the German officers began to make a choice among the girls and young women. Families were separated, fathers were taken away from their wives and children, boys were forced to leave their homes, young girls had to leave fathers and mothers with no other protection than the doubtful protection of the Prussian soldier. The reason given for this departure was that there were unoccupied lands in Belgium and Germany where men and women were needed to work the land. It was terrible; yes, it was terrible, but there would be something more terrible than to have seen that—that would be to forget it. It is because we have seen that, that we know this war is not an ordinary war, but that it is a Holy War, in which the whole Christian world must join. It is because we have seen that, that we know we are not fighting against a nation or against a race, or against a creed, but we are fighting against tyranny, against the power of evil itself.

You know how we in France have waged this war with all our heart, all our courage, all our determination. We have waged it with our men, with our women and with our children. As regards the men, I have lived with them, side by side, in the trenches during months which were perhaps the most tragic, but also the most magnificent of all my life; and when to-day I speak of my men I cannot do better than repeat what our Commander-in-Chief, General Pétain, said the other day to an American correspondent of a New York paper: "Do not speak of us, the chiefs. Do not speak of us, speak only of the men. We have done nothing. The

men have done everything. The men have been admirable. We can only kneel down before them." Yes, they have been admirable, because the most humble and obscure of them had the clear vision of the duty which France had taken to herself. As regards our women, they have not been less courageous and less admirable than the men; and here, gentlemen, let me give you one figure. At the beginning of the war, during the Battle of the Marne, we had 25,000 women working in our manufactories of arms. Last year we had 225,000, and to-day, at the precise moment when I am speaking, we have 475,000 women working in these manufactories. It is because we have had such men and such women that we have been able to fight until now, and shall be able to fight to the end. You know why we are fighting. We are not fighting for money, nor territory. We are fighting for something much higher and nobler. We are fighting for the very high thing which the great Prime Minister of the British Empire two days ago called an "ideal." Yes, we are fighting for an ideal, our ideal, your ideal, to restore in Europe the spirit of liberty, of humanity, but above all, of respect for international law. That spirit will be restored only when the other spirit, the spirit of aggression, of domination, symbolized by Prussian militarism, will have been extirpated from Europe. That Prussian militarism must go, and it will go only when the Germans understand that they are not the stronger, but that they are the weaker. They must understand that they have not to dictate terms of peace, but to agree to terms of peace,—that they have not to offer alms to other nations, but that they must respect the existence and the liberties of other nations in the world, big or small, strong or weak. They must understand that that is the supreme law of civilization and humanity. For that, gentlemen, we will fight to the end.

All our terms of peace, all these terms of peace, including the vindication of a certain territory belong to that ideal. When France demands Alsace-Lorraine, it is not for the mere sake of adding a few square miles to her territory, but it is because these territories have been taken from France by force forty-two years ago, without the populations of these territories being consulted; because it is a question of right.

I will ask you to allow me to explain very briefly but very clearly, if I can, that question of Alsace and Lorraine. There is first Lorraine, there is Alsace, and there is the southern part of Alsace, including the town of Mulhouse. I would like to speak first of this. Never at any time did the town of Mulhouse belong to Germany. It belonged to Switzerland, and in 1798, the citizens of Mulhouse, after a referendum, declared that they wanted to become French citizens, and they became French citizens. Nothing is more clear and simple. As regards Alsace, it is equally simple and clear. Alsace became French in 1648, more than two centuries before the last war of 1870. It became French according to a Treaty which was signed with the Austrian Emperor, because Alsace never belonged to Germany, but to Austria. It was a part of the territories belonging to the Imperial family of Austria, and in the treaty which was signed there is, by a curious coincidence, a very interesting sentence which I should like to read: "The Emperor of Austria cedes to the King of France, forever, in perpetuity, without any reserve, with full jurisdiction and sovereignty, all the Alsatian territory." The Austrian Emperor gives it to the King of France in such a way that no other Emperor in the future will have ever any power at any time to affirm any right to this territory. It is really extraordinary. It looks as if when the Austrian Emperor signed that he had a sort of presentiment that one day in the future there would be another Emperor who would claim something of this territory. As regards Lorraine, it is equally simple and clear. Lorraine became French in 1552, not after a war, but in time of peace, according also to a treaty which was signed by the Protestant princes of Germany. In this treaty also we find a very interesting sentence. "The King of France may as promptly as possible take possession of the towns of Toul, Metz and Verdun, where the German language has never been used." So you see that in that Treaty of 1552 the town of Metz, the German town of Metz, was put on the same footing as the two French towns of Toul and Verdun.

You know what happened in 1870. After an unfortunate war all these territories were taken away by Germany, were annexed to Germany. The populations

protested through their deputies. They assembled in Bordeaux and signed unanimously a protestation against the annexation. The protest said that Alsace and Lorraine, before the whole world, proclaimed that they wanted to remain French. "Conquest alone, cannot" they said, "ratify the annexation of a whole people, that they should be seized like a flock of sheep. Such a matter should be referred to the vote of the whole population. Therefore we declare," they said, "that we would consider any treaty which gives us away to a foreign power as a treaty null and void, and we declare that we have the right of disposing of ourselves, and of remaining French." In 1874 the Alsatian people had to elect new deputies, and they went to the Reichstag and there they signed exactly the same protest. Now I very often hear people, especially in the United States, saying: Why should there not be a referendum? Let us settle the question by a referendum. No, gentlemen. Why should there be a referendum? Was there any referendum in 1871 when the two Provinces were taken away? If not then, why should there be a referendum to-day? And how could there be a referendum? How could you include in this referendum the hundreds of thousands of Alsations who have fled from Alsace and Lorraine, so as not to remain under German domination? And how could you exclude from this referendum the hundreds of thousands of Germans who have migrated to Alsace? The referendum has been decided in 1871, in 1874; and in 1913, a year before the declaration of war, if you take the French Annual Military list, printed in Paris, and giving the names of all the French officers serving in the French army, you will find that there were forty generals of Alsatian blood; two hundred and forty superior officers of Alsatian blood, and more than four hundred ordinary officers of Alsatian origin. If you take the Annual Military List of 1913 printed in Berlin, do you know how many Alsatian officers of Alsatian blood and of Alsatian origin are on that list? Exactly four. I call that a referendum.

I do not need to tell you that from time to time there are talks of peace; there are very often talks of peace, too often talks of peace. Last year our enemies offered us peace. They offered us peace, with insults. What kind of a people should we have been if we had accepted such a peace? To-day

or to-morrow there will be some other offers of peace. Autocracy has found a new and powerful ally, it is anarchy. Gentlemen, it is not the first time in the history of the world that autocracy and anarchy have joined hands to strangle and crush democracy; but for us, in France, we have chosen our way, as the British Empire has chosen its way. It will be perhaps the way of suffering, it will never be the way of disgrace. Yesterday, in a newspaper in this town, a newspaper printed in French, I read a sentence about France, about suffering, bleeding, exhausted France. Suffering, yes, it is true we suffer, but I will tell you something, gentlemen. We are ready to suffer still more. We are ready to suffer until there are no more Frenchmen left for suffering. Life for us is nothing without dignity and without liberty, and we would prefer to die rather than live in a world of degraded humanity. If Germany should be victorious, that is the kind of world we should be forced to live in. But if we suffer, do not believe for a moment that we are exhausted or that we are bled white. Here I would like to quote some figures. In September, 1914, at the Battle of the Marne, France had in the field an army of one million and five hundred thousand men. To-day, at the moment that I am speaking, France has in the field an army of two million, seven hundred and fifty thousand men. In September 1914, we were manufacturing twelve thousand shells per day; to-day we are manufacturing two hundred and fifty thousand shells per day. Since the beginning of the war the French Parliament has voted credits for the war amounting to more than twenty billions of dollars, and of these twenty billions of dollars only two have been borrowed from abroad, all the rest have come from France, from French pockets and French savings banks.

And now, gentlemen, let us conclude. Several times in the course of this address I have spoken of great and small nations. I was wrong, because among the allies there are no great and no small nations. All nations are great who fight for liberty and for justice. If to-day there be a small nation, it is not Belgium, it is not Serbia. It is another nation, large, very large, in size, but small, very small, in sense of honor and of duty. Let that small nation go. Everyone has the right to choose his own path, even if it is

the path of present disgrace and of future servitude, but let all the other great nations remain united and steadfast. Union, steadfastness, that must be our watchword. We have to hold out to-day, not so much against the enemy as against the whisperings of pessimism. Let us wave aside that pessimism. Clouds, yes, there are clouds. There are always clouds, but these clouds will go, as do all clouds, and the sun of victory will shine. Victory will not be your victory, it will not be our victory, it will not be a military victory of the victory of any people, but the victory of an ideal, of the ideal of right, justice, humanity and civilization.

(January 11, 1918)

## AIRCRAFT

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By MAJOR W. A. BISHOP, V.C., D.S.O., M.C.

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I HAVE decided to try to-day to give you a general idea of a day's work in the flying squadron of the flying corps, as it was when I left last August. I will describe my own squadron. We were situated in one of the prettiest places that you can find in a country not very pretty at this present time, about ten miles behind our own lines; and we had our mess and huts in a very pretty orchard. It was probably the best of its kind in France. We lived in huts, two or three officers in each hut, and these huts were partitioned off so that each officer had a room of his own, or you could take down the partition and have a large hut between two or three of you. The huts were all papered and carpeted, and we slept in good beds, and usually between sheets, which is about the greatest luxury you can possibly have in France. The mess itself was very good. We had a large building divided into two rooms, one for an ante-room and one for a mess room, both rooms well furnished and very comfortable, so that we really were very well off. We had a piano, a gramophone, two big open fireplaces and lots of reading material, and as we were very comfortable we had many visitors. When, in July, we added an American bar to the mess, we had more visitors.

These luxuries were all planned out with the same object in view, which was to make the pilot forget his work in the air when he was on the ground, keep his mind free from that work and anxiety of any sort. The result was that when our men were told off to do a patrol, up to the last minute they were laughing and talking; cases of nerves or anything of that sort were very rare. They would go up in the air with the same spirit in which they played around on the ground.

Men began to like their work so well that when we went to find a man we would often search all over the place for him, be unable to find him, and finally by inquiry at the Squadron office would find out that he was out hunting on his own. This is the spirit that made ours one of the best squadrons in France; and we were not the only best one, there were many more like us. By way of amusement we had horses to ride, tennis courts and any other games we could think of, football and all that sort of thing. We found a lot of amusement in a neighboring farmyard, which was full of ducks, pigs and such things. We took them under our wing and carefully trained them into the way a flying squadron should go. Certain ducks showed more ability than others to keep in formation, so we painted their wings and feathers with blue. It had a bad effect on them and they stopped laying; but the farmer did not seem to mind it. We took the biggest and the dirtiest pig we could find and we tied leader's streamers to his tail; and we painted iron crosses on his ears and on his sides.

As to a day's work, each man had two jobs of approximately two hours each, the first job coming probably at five, leaving the ground just when dawn was creeping up, and coming down two hours later, the second probably in the evening. The men had the whole day in which to amuse themselves. Otherwise every pilot coming down would be discussing his work, and a man's mind would never be off flying in the air, and hearing what a tight corner the other fellow had been in would make him more nervous than he otherwise would be inclined to be. The work of a patrol consists of going out and looking for a fight, and we have no other orders. We are perhaps told to look out on a certain part of the line. Certain patrols are detailed to cross into enemy territory and spend all of their time over there and attack whatever they see. During last spring and summer, to get a fight we had to go over to the enemy territory, and sometimes we had to go well back. The fighting itself, of course, is a thing where experience is the best teacher. Men going to France now-a-days are put through many courses, such as fighting in the air, which consists of courses in flying and also in aerial gunnery, which is really the most important thing of all. The old notion that with a pair of machine guns

you could do anything is passing. It is now realized that you have to hit the enemy in the right place, and that that right place is the pilot, and when you hit him you must kill him. The machines with which we fight are single-seater machines; they carry only a pilot. They are armed with two machine guns, firing straight ahead through the revolving blades of the propeller. These machine guns are fired from the same control which manages the machine, so that if the pilot in a fight wants to fire on another machine all he has to do is to head his machine at the enemy, which he does through telescopic sight, presses a button and his machine guns rattle away. The great difficulty of fighting in the air seems to be to get people to close in. It has been found that in all the successful fights, the majority of cases have been where the pilots close in at one hundred yards before commencing to fire at all, and sometimes they have been fifteen or twenty yards away before they fire a single shot. At this range, with bullets passing out at the rate of twelve hundred a minute there is only one side to the fight and it is over very quickly at that.

The single seater machine is usually faster, smaller, and climbs better than a two seater machine carrying an observer to fire out behind; but the great advantage of the single seater machine is that there is no question of working with anybody else and you have greater manœuvring ability. If you are fighting an enemy who has a two seater machine, once you have manœuvered into a blind spot you can easily stay there. No matter what he does, you can do the same just about twice as quickly. Fighting an enemy with a single seater machine is different, of course. Anywhere behind him is safe, but to stay there is usually about the hardest thing on earth. There is no question about the Hun being a good pilot. Perhaps we might say that the average pilot of the Hun is not anything like the average man we have in France, but he can fight. The only thing is that he has not the same grit underneath it, and will not stand up against even odds, let alone when you have the upper hand of him. The result is that until just lately the fighting has all been well on the enemy side of the line, and that has been why our losses have been very heavy. In every case where one of our machines was hit on the enemy

side of the line there was every probability that it would have to land on enemy territory and be finished up; but if the same thing happened to the German machine the pilot simply landed in his own country, and it is not a casualty. But every one of our machines driven down in that way is a casualty, where theirs are not even counted in our reports. This might explain why the day's results are so often nearly even. It also goes to show that in our fighting we must have damaged a lot of their machines and made our majority much greater, because as I said none of the machines damaged just enough to land have been counted.

Another branch of our work was the attacking of hostile balloons, which is a very exciting game and probably the nastiest piece of business we are ever called upon to do. We have to go miles behind the enemy's line and not only drive them down but go down and destroy the balloon. This is done by the use of incendiary bullets, and the machine to attack the balloon must be within one hundred and fifty yards before opening fire. The Huns, when they send up a balloon, know it will be attacked, and make provision. They put a special battery of anti-aircraft guns, and a special battery of machine guns around the balloon to fire on the attacking machine, and they put what we call a "flaming onion" in it, that is a sort of gun which fires up balls of fire. These balls of fire come up very slowly and are very terrifying. We have not been able to find out whether they have brought anybody down or not in this way, but to a new pilot the sight is most terrifying. Lately they have special fighting machines detailed to patrol over these balloons. I will illustrate an attack by an experience I had when I first went to France and where I was lucky enough to get the balloon. It was during the battle of Arras and we were detailed to bring down all the balloons along the front at an exact moment of the afternoon. A minute or so before that time we all crossed the lines at the nearest point to our balloon so that we would reach them about the same time. I crossed the line with the rest. I had a little difficulty in finding the balloon as it was a misty day, especially as I was not very familiar with the country. Finally I spotted it. I began to circle round about it when Mr. Balloon began going down to the ground as fast as it could. The next step was to dive down

towards him. By this time I had forgotten that anything else existed but the balloon. I wanted to get home and the quickest way was to get the balloon and get back again. It did not enter my head to look around and above me, and in the course of diving a few thousand feet I suddenly became aware that for about five or ten seconds a pair of machine guns had been rattling away a few hundred yards behind me. I followed instructions given to pilots and pulled the machine back, and at that moment the Hun machine went directly underneath me and in line with my sight. I had ninety odd rounds of very precious incendiary bullets for the balloon and I had to waste ten on him, but they were successful, luckily for me. That was the last I saw of the machine. Then the balloon went down to the ground and I followed. In passing through the various fires of machine guns and that sort of thing, you cannot see where the bullets are going, but you can sometimes hear the rattle of them on the ground. In this case I did not. I opened fire on the balloon eight hundred feet away and it did not seem to ignite. I turned my fire on to the people on the ground, according to previous instructions, and scattered them. My speed for the dive had probably reached one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty miles an hour and I was compelled to go straight along two or three fields behind. I had forgotten all this time about my engine—the engine of a machine requires a lot of care, and the engine became clogged and I suddenly realized that nothing I could do would make the thing start again. I got down to within fifteen feet of the ground, prepared to land in a field, when suddenly it picked up again. The trip home is not dangerous, but is the most exciting part of the whole game and the most thrilling to hear about. We fly pretty close to the ground, sometimes within five or ten feet of the ground, and you go along from one field to another, zig-zag, altering your course often, making a complete turn whenever you see anything ahead of you. At this height it is impossible to hit a machine with any kind of artillery fire. The only danger you might run is if you get into a clump of machine guns stationed there specially to get machines flying low. This is where the most amusing part of it all comes in. After dodging round some trees and going into the next field you suddenly find twenty

men with two or three machine guns in the middle of the field. You might be two hundred yards away from them and going at the rate of one hundred and twenty miles an hour. If you approached them straight at that speed by the time you had covered that two hundred yards the Germans had covered fifty yards as well and not a shot would be fired at you. Then there is the attacking of infantry and transports on the roads. I could read to you some reports from pilots who came back and you would be awed at what they have done. They have very fast machines which cross the line one hundred feet up, and everything that appears they fly around it and shoot it up. Transports on the road, rest camps and everything else, and their stories read like an old fairy tale. One minute they are on a train, the next minute they are shooting up to avoid being attacked, then they are shooting at a convoy going up the road, then they are attacking some cars carrying officers—this is not an exceptional thing for these men to do. This is the sort of thing that has really developed since the summer, and now pilots going over there are sent out all around the German territory shooting up everything they see, and what is more, they get back safely.

That gives you an idea of the work they are engaged in as it was when I left; but it is an entirely different thing now. In talking last week in Washington to some people who had come to give the authorities at Washington some idea of how things stand generally over there, I was very much surprised to hear how things have changed since I left. They are fighting now, not fifteen or five miles back, but right on the lines and day after day on our side of the line. This means simply that Germany has realized what the war in the air is going to mean in the near future and she is prepared for it. She realizes what the United States planned when they came in and she is going to do her best to defeat it. Her flying corps has expanded at a tremendous rate. France, I might say, has reached its limit as far as flying in the air is concerned. They find that it will be practically impossible, in the coming year, for them to expand any more in that line; they may have to contract.

And now I come to the most serious part of that problem. I have been down in the States working with them for the last

two months, and it is really thrilling to be down there and see on what a magnificent scale they are going to adopt this plan of fighting in the air. But they advertised everything they were going to do last spring, and they planned to do it this early spring. Unfortunately, they are very far behind in aviation. When they declared war they were just about one and a half or two years behind us, and they did not quite realize that. Now I can say that in the early spring the United States will not be the factor that the Germans will have to reckon with in the air. Maybe in the summer they will be able to do something, and we hope to heaven they will, but between the spring and the summer Great Britain has to face the most terrible time she has yet faced, especially from the point of view of the war in the air. I cannot look on it too seriously. France cannot expand, England has been expanding as fast as she can. Germany has gone ahead with leaps and bounds to meet the expansion of England and France, and to meet the preparations of the United States; and the United States not being ready, we have to take the strain of it. That is what we are preparing to do to-day. We have to do it. We were never farther from defeating the Hun than we are at the present moment, and with the spring coming on things must be hastened. The man that talks peace now does not know what he is talking about. He certainly has not been over there; he has not seen people die, as those who have been over there have. Those of you who have lost people, who know what a sacrifice has been made, are not talking of peace, nor are those who went across with that little army that stood at Mons. Some of those "Old Contemptibles" you sometimes see on leave in England with six, seven, or even eight wounded stripes on their arms, and they are not looking for soft jobs in England either. They are wanting to get back. You look around at the number of your friends who have been to the front and who have done well, and put in months and months out there, and ask them if they think they have done their bit. Major Niven, who went across at the very first, is not sitting back in Canada and telling people what he has done and how he has done his bit. He is going back next week to do more.

I spent two months in the States. I went around speak-

ing as I have been speaking to you to-day, and incidentally a lot stronger, because they need it. In all that time I have been trying to find out what you call a pacifist, and I have not found one, not one who will get up and tell me he is one. But when I do I am going to say to him: "What have you done to deserve peace, that you talk about peace?" I can give him instances of people who have fought and fought and fought and lost everything they have in life, wealth, position, friends, brothers, fathers, families and everything else, and they are not the people who want peace. I can describe to him France as she is to-day. There are families in France, people I know very well; let me write to them and ask them what they think about peace. They are ruined; they have nothing to look forward to in the way of happiness, nothing but sorrow and the looking back on the loved ones they will never see any more. Those are the people who want to fight for the real peace and the only peace that can make the world a proper place for the future generations to live in.

#### GENERAL LOOMIS

The work of the flying corps is not only important but vital for the success of the operations of the infantry and artillery. They are the eyes of the army. They have to report what is going on, not only in the lines, but behind the lines, for very long distances. Everything that the Germans have done we have countered by means of our aircraft. Major Bishop has told you that at the present time the situation is on a different basis. To-day the Germans have a little the better of the situation. I left France on the 2nd of December. On the first of December my brigade was in the front line and the Germans had a little the better of us. Last summer, however, we had the better of them. Last winter, after they had brought out some very fast planes, things were pretty exciting. I have seen many fights in the air, and I have seen a great many fatal fights, and as Major Bishop said, our pilots are the better as far as valor and gallantry are concerned. The Germans very seldom attack unless they have the advantage not only in speed but in numbers. I have seen many attacks by the Germans on our aeroplanes, one of ours holding four or five of them, and sometimes getting one or two of them.

Then again I have seen them bring down our man after he has made a gallant fight. I saw that gallant man, Lieutenant Hay, fighting four planes. I thought he was going to get one of them, when all at once his plane broke into flames and he came down, fell out of the plane thirty-five hundred feet, came down just a short distance from where we stood; and when my orderly brought his body into the trench the German snipers were firing at him all the time. On aircraft will depend the outcome of this war to a great extent, and we are looking toward America—they are the people who can give us superiority in the air. The Germans have made a special effort. We are looking to the Americans to overcome the odds, but I believe if we get to it we can do it ourselves. We have got the men, and all it wants is organization and production. You men who are here to-day are the class of men who must see to that. It means money, it means industrial effort, it means metal especially and everything that Canada produces. There are a great many gentlemen in this room to-day who have a great deal of influence on the outcome of the air operations which we must carry on in the future. It must be brought home to every individual in this country that he is responsible for the winning of this war. It not only rests with the men who go to the front. The man behind is just as important as the man at the front. It may be his pocketbook, it may be his time; but whatever it is he has the opportunity if he will put his mind to it, and assume the responsibility which is his as a citizen of the British Empire at the present time. The time is critical. I believe you all understand it. The Premier of Great Britain has said so, Major Bishop has said so, and you believe it. The time is critical and it behoves every man to assume the responsibility which is his as a citizen of the Empire, as a citizen of Canada, and as a citizen of Montreal.

#### MAJOR NIVEN

I can only reiterate what Major Bishop and General Loomis have said about the time being critical. Montreal has done wonders in this war. The regiment I happen to belong to was founded by a well-known officer from Montreal. Major Hamilton Gault has done a great deal in this war. He has lost a leg, and he is still doing his bit in France.

That shows you how some are doing their duty. I can only say that everyone, during the next six months, both in Great Britain and in Canada, is going to feel a tremendous strain. Some of the hardest fighting the Canadian forces have had to do since they went to France is going to be within the next six months.

(January 14, 1918)

## ENGLAND AS I SAW IT IN 1914 AND 1917

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By DR. W. J. DAWSON

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IN nineteen fourteen, when war was declared, I sailed to England with my family, and it was in this hotel that the news of the declaration of war reached me. We had travelled from British Columbia, and we were going to Quebec and then over to England for a holiday that had been postponed for a great many months and even years, and we had no conception, of course, of the great catastrophe that was to happen in the commencement of August. I do not suppose we should ever have crossed on that occasion, but for the gigantic lie that was placarded up in the Chateau Frontenac in the afternoon, to the effect that the British fleet had met the German, capturing God knows how many prisoners and annihilating fifty or sixty dreadnoughts. Everybody was told and believed that the seas were perfectly safe. We were all hustled on board the old Empress that same evening. It was painted black and we went out in the early dawn and got to England, thinking of course that the sea was absolutely safe and that there was no such thing as a German cruiser capable of the slightest interference. I draw in my mind two pictures; the first the England of 1914, at the commencement of the war, and I look back upon that picture with intense astonishment. Not being able to get over to Holland where I wished to go—I had a daughter newly married in The Hague—I took an automobile and with my family went through England for sixteen days. I saw all the preparations that were going on, the mobilization of the territorials, and we got a close and intimate impression of it all. The astonishing thing was that no one took the war seriously and no one supposed that it was

likely to last longer than two or three months. There was no general consternation, no vision of the dimensions of the struggle or the real meaning of it, and there was no feeling that any real danger existed. I remember in the city of Bath a certain tradesman who was having some repairs made in his shop hung out a board painted red on which was written: "Business as usual during the enlargement of the British Empire," and that was the characteristic temper of the great mass of the people. No one had ever conceived at that date that this was a war of nations, rather than of armies, and in spite of Kitchener's call for men the general spirit of England was complete ignorance as to the dimensions, magnitude or nature of the struggle. We came back in August of that year really feeling that perhaps we had been alarmed in vain. I had only one day of real dismay, when certain papers came out that Boulogne had fallen and that the Germans were close to Paris. That, of course, was another lie, but one moved through a great number of lies in England in those days; such as the dramatic invention of the Russians passing through England. Indeed there were crowds of witnesses in England willing to go up on the stand and declare that they had seen thousands of Russians passing through on the way to reinforce the British front in Flanders. One moved about in a dream of improbabilities, nobody having the slightest idea of what the struggle meant and what it was going to mean.

Now, side by side with that picture of the England not awake, not at all realizing the kind of catastrophe which had struck civilization, is the England of 1917. I was there about this time last year. I had gone over to meet my son on his first leave from the trenches, and my two younger sons, who were then waiting for their appointments in the Naval Patrol. It was a piece of the purest good luck that we actually did meet in London on the appointed day, my wife, my daughter and myself, and my son coming from the French trenches and the two boys from the points where they were being trained, all to be in London once more on a certain day—that was our dream and the dream came true. The England we saw then was totally different from what it was when we were there in 1914. It was an almost incredible England. The physical features were changed; of course there was darkness every-

where. There were no brilliant lights in London, the only lights being the sleepless flame from the searchlights which night after night penetrated through the clouds looking for the hidden body of some Zeppelin that might be lurking there out of sight. The streets were totally dark or nearly so. Everywhere we saw wounded soldiers. In the theatre, boxes were full of men, blind, listening with the greatest enjoyment, nevertheless, to the play. In the restaurant, men without legs were helping to feed men without arms. On all sides were the signs of war, the immense waste and havoc of war washed up from those fields of Flanders, the wreckage everywhere. An incredible England compared to the England of 1914.

It was incredible in other respects, too. It seemed as though the whole nation had been re-born and re-born into a larger and a diviner spirit, into a spirit of real heroism. I hardly know what to quote to bring home this impression to the mind of any man here who has not been in England since the war. I can only say that nothing I have read in the papers—and I have read English papers all the time—in my correspondence—and I have a vast correspondence with friends in England—had given me the least idea of the marvellous change of spirit that had passed over the English folk. Here is one little thing—there are no signs of mourning in London. No one wore black. When I asked why, they said: "It is not done, it is not the thing." If people wore black it would discourage the other folk, and so folk who have lost their men do not put on mourning in these days. One night I went to hear Harry Lauder sing. His son had been killed about two weeks before. They told me at the theatre that he stayed away from the theatre for two nights, and on the third night he came down. He felt that his boy would wish him to do his bit, and the bit he had to do was one of the cruelest and hardest that a man could do. He had to sing a song about the boys coming home, and the stage was set for the Horse Guards and men in khaki marching past as he sang. I was pretty close to Lauder that night and I never forget the tense face, the hard, deep lines, every nerve in the figure seemed to be drawn to its utmost tension, as he stood there, doing his bit, and singing of the boys coming home, and remembering his boy. That was symbolic of the spirit of the people.

Another night I remember dining with an old friend of mine, a doctor. My children had been brought up with his children and the bond between us had always been very intimate. His eldest daughter had married in the year of the war a brilliant Cambridge University professor. The moment war broke out her husband enlisted, served for some months in France and came back to see his child, then returned and soon after his return was killed. The doctor said to me: "Dorothy went out, and we sat waiting here in this room, waiting for her to come back, and wondering what on earth we should say to her, what we could say to cheer the child, to give her courage, and to cheer her up, and then we saw her come up the garden path and we knew at once that it was not for us to cheer her, she was going to cheer us. There was not a murmur, not a word of regret, not a tear. She was proud that her husband had done his part, had died heroically, and her mother said to me: 'It is astonishing. I can only say that Dorothy seemed to have found the peace of God which passeth understanding.'"

I met all sorts of people, old friends, everywhere meeting those who had suffered great losses, and everywhere finding that same heroic spirit, the growth of which is the great spiritual outcome of the struggle in which we are engaged. If one wants to trace it back to any great central root, it is this, that men have learned a complete contempt for death. They have learned to regard death as a normal thing, a thing not to be dreaded—as I have read so often in letters from men at the front: "We have to die some time, it doesn't much matter when." When a man once gets into that mood, if he once begins to regard death, not as the greatest of human catastrophes, but as one of the normal things, as normal as birth, he has lost the fear that makes him unheroic, and has found the courage that makes him heroic. Only two or three weeks ago, in my house, a man whose name, if I were free to quote it, you would all recognize, was talking to me. His eldest boy, seventeen, had been trying to enlist ever since his seventeenth birthday, but he could not get taken; and on his eighteenth birthday his father brought him here to Montreal and enlisted him. The boy was home for his last leave before going across seas; and his father speaking of him, said, as

though it was the most normal thing in the world, not a thing to remark about or be astonished over; "Oh, of course, he expects to die. They all do, and he does not care." The heroic spirit finds, I think, its chief source in an entirely new attitude towards death.

There are many things one would like to speak of, but I would like now to turn for a moment from this vision of things one saw in England to the things one is seeing in the United States to-day. To put in a sentence that which I am seeing to-day—I am seeing enacted all over again, step by step and stage by stage, just those spiritual and moral transformations which astonished me in England. A lady I know, before the war, was almost distracted with the idea that her sons would have to go, so distracted that I had to reason with her several times, telling her how foolish it was to get hysterical before anything had happened. Now her sons have gone, and she is the proudest mother in the land, proud to find that having come to the hour of the real sacrifice, neither her sons nor herself had shrunk from it. It seems to me that the fear of sacrifice is always greater than the reality. When you look at the cross a long way off it is terrible and menacing, and as you come nearer to it you see the light that shines upon it and it becomes no longer a dreadful symbol only of tragedy. When my eldest son first made up his mind to enlist, he came to Canada to do it, for America was not yet at war. He came up to Kingston and was afterward at Petawawa camp, and on that dark January day when he left us to go to Kingston to receive his training, the dominant thought in my mind was the thought of the waste of it all, the waste of fine efficiency, built up by long years of toil, intellectual toil, and struggle, for in war we build a kind of efficiency which is different, and intellectual efficiency is largely discounted. I remember saying: "What I cannot stand about it all is the damnable waste," and I ought not to have said it. I knew it would hurt him, but it sprang from the pain and suffering of my own heart. On that visit to England in the beginning of 1917, when the brief ten days was over and we went down to Folkestone to see him go back, and we parted at the dock, because all farewells had to be made at the dock gates;—you could not even see the ship that was to carry them off, nothing but the

great waste space where the wind of separation was blowing,—he said: “If you knew that I was going out to die, never to come back again, would you rather I stayed or went?” and I answered: “I would rather a thousand times you went.” That marks the difference, the change of one’s own feelings, and you know how our sons are educating us to-day. We, the older men, will never look upon the actual carnage and horror through which they pass, but we are being educated by their heroism into a new view of life, and a new view of duty. I am not surprised that in the commencement of the war there were thousands of people in the United States whose minds were distracted and dismayed, because my own was; but I also find that now that the thing has come, and now that they are at grips with it, all the people are rising to the occasion with the same kind of heroism that the English people have displayed and the Canadian and the Australian and the New Zealand people have displayed. When you come to the real altar of sacrifice, somehow strength comes to you to endure that which is demanded of you.

I know there is one thing about the part that America is playing which is more or less in the minds of most folk. People have said to me: “How on earth was it that the United States was so slow in coming to their decision?” Well, gentlemen, if you will recall the mixed population of the United States, how far from homogeneous that population is, I think you will find an explanation of the slowness of the process. In the city where I dwell, for example, a city of 480,000 people, speaking roughly more than half is of foreign birth. We have certainly 40,000 Germans, there are 40,000 Italians, there are many thousands of colored people, there are many thousands of mixed races, including Greeks, Roumanians, Slavs; there are some 46 languages spoken. What is true of that particular city is true, of course, still truer, of New York, of Chicago, where there are 700,000 Germans. The task of bringing all these people of different blood and different traditions into unity for a common purpose, to fight a common foe, a foe in many cases of their own blood. It makes one of the miracles of history that America has come to the decision that she has. One of my friends, just before the declaration of war, had an interview with the President of the United States. Mr. Wilson

said: "My sympathies are absolutely pro-ally, they have always been pro-ally, they have never been anything else; but I will not move until I know that I have the entire nation behind me." I think in those words we have the explanation of the policy of the President. His position resembles very largely the position of Abraham Lincoln. You remember how Abraham Lincoln was urged again and again to declare the immediate emancipation of the colored population of the States and he drew back, he disappointed deputation after deputation, he was slandered and vilified for it, but he said: "Whatsoever shall appear to be the will of the people, that I shall do," and he waited until he had the entire North behind him. In all your judgments of the United States I beg you to be generous in your thoughts, remembering the enormous difficulties which President Wilson has had to contend with. If you do that you will be astonished with me, and profoundly grateful to Almighty God that those difficulties have been overcome in the way they have been and as rapidly as they have been.

Speaking now upon Canadian soil, within the bounds of the British Empire, and with the memory of the other side of that invisible line where I am now living and where my work is, I think the greatest thing of all that is coming out of this war is the real confederation and union of the Anglo-Saxon peoples of the earth. When I first came over to this country some twenty-six years ago, I had great ideals about an Anglo-Saxon Federation for the peace of the world and I went around the United States lecturing upon it, and I found a very cold response. They were quite willing to hear me lecture, but not at all willing to agree with my views. I had many animated discussions after the lectures about the part Great Britain was supposed to play, and everything she had ever done in her long history which was not exactly what one in his most critical moments might approve, was trotted out and made the most of. I saw that whatever we felt in England at that time, in the United States there was no very strong feeling towards the drawing together of the two peoples. I do not believe that anything could have drawn them together but a war such as this, faced with a common foe, a foe which ranges upon one side the people who are servile, and on the other side the people who are free, leaving no second choice.

America has found out where her place is and who her true comrades are, and for what purpose she was born and came into this world, and for what purpose God has given her life and greatness and wealth. If the war does nothing else than draw together the peoples of this great American Continent, united in a common purpose for common justice, common freedom, common righteousness, for the cause of democratic government, I was going to say that it was worth all the sacrifice and bloodshed, if we have regard for the future of the world and of civilization. Yes, we are one in the common heritage of the freedom confided to the English-speaking peoples, and we may be assured of this, that though America may have been slow in coming into that fight for many reasons which I am not able to enumerate here, but which you will surmise, now that she is in, she is there to the finish.

In the last letter I received from my son, he told me he had been lunching with a very remarkable man, the great cartoonist, Raemakers, who has done more to gibbet the doings of the Hun than any history will ever do in language. And what he has done is appreciated, remember, at its true and proper worth by the Hun. There is a price set on Raemakers' head—this is literally true—a heavy price for his capture. He has to go all the time knowing that the foe whom he has pilloried with such absolute truth, in the white lighting of truth, is relentless and may get back at him at any moment. My son said, during the course of the lunch Raemakers told him a story. He is a very unemotional man. He looks like Franz Hals' Burgher, the fresh face and little pointed beard. It is only when his eye kindles that you feel the kind of force that is there. He told my son that there was a company of French soldiers going into a fight where they knew it was to be pretty bad. They knew it was more than perilous, they knew it was going to be fatal. It was hardly possible that any of them would come out, and the men went by and the Colonel looked at them with tears pouring down his face, and a man stepped out from the ranks in the impulsive French fashion and put his arms around his Colonel's neck and kissed him, saying: "My Colonel, do not weep for us. We won't disgrace you." America will not disgrace the cause to which she has given the pledge of her

loyalty, and side by side with the heroic boys of Canada, so many of whom I know, whose histories I know, the United States is sending forth men of equal talent and courage and endurance, and they will not disgrace the cause. When their hour comes to take their part in the fight, they are going to fight as nobly as our own boys have done. God send them victory, and send it soon.

(January 25th, 1918)

## IMPRESSIONS

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By the RIGHT HON. SIR FREDERICK SMITH

*Attorney-General for England.*

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TO-DAY is the last day in which it is my fortune to make any observations in public to my countrymen here. The tour which I was invited to make when I had settled the business which brought me here is now over, and it may interest you if I very briefly say a word or two upon the impressions made on my mind by the visits that I paid to the great industrial and agricultural centers in the United States of America. It is a commonplace to point out that the entry of the United States of America in this war is the greatest event which has taken place in the war since the decision of Great Britain was acclaimed by the British Empire; a greater event, if one looks at it in cool perspective, even than the defection of our Russian ally, staggering as the effect of that defection has been upon the allied prospects as a whole.

You have lived on the terms on which men do live with a powerful neighbor. In your history your relations with the United States have sometimes been friendly, sometimes they have been less friendly; but I do not exaggerate when I say that through all the history of your relationship with the United States, a profound respect and admiration for their power and resources has been entertained by every thoughtful citizen of Canada. The first impression which I derived from my visit in the United States was one which it is very agreeable to speak to you about and one which I think you will very gladly hear from me. It is this. Passionate as is the admiration which in Great Britain we have for the Canadian soldier, warm as is the tribute universally paid there to the contribution, material, personal and moral, which Canada

has made to the cause of the Empire in this war, there is, if it be possible, an admiration even more ardent in the United States of America. Never have I heard any men speak in the terms of generous warmth of the gallantry of your soldiers as did the soldiers and civilians of the United States of America; and I was in no real doubt as to the explanation of the phenomena which at first sight seemed a little surprising. They took a special pride in it. I think they feel a geographical pride in what had been done by the Canadian soldiers, and they entertain the hope that the men who come from the same continent, inspired by such an example, will surround the standards of the United States of America with the same immortal glory. Although at times the road seems dark, although the most piercing vision cannot at this moment, as at so many gloomy intervals in this war, descry the daylight which may encourage us to suppose that the task is nearing completion—although it is not a moment in which any statesman or politician will be discharging his duty who bids you take a cheerful or a light view of a grave situation—although that is true, let us remember this. We have now ranged together, in this vast new world between the most northerly point of your immense Dominion and the most southerly point of the United States of America, the greatest material resources. However long the task may be, however costly it may be in blood and treasure to carry that war to the only conclusion which is consistent with our honor and the security of the Empire, this I can tell you very plainly and very definitely, that—remarkable as is the determination of the people of Canada, clear as is their resolution not to lose the fruits of so much sacrifice and of losses so cruel—while I detect everywhere the evidence here of that high spirit, I do not exaggerate when I say to you that the many, many thousands whom I addressed in the United States are not less vehement in their determination, having put their hand to the plow never to lay it aside, until they have brought the war to the only conclusion compatible with American honor and safety. To one coming as I and my friends have come from Great Britain, which has suffered from the strain of three and a half years of war, it is a refreshing tonic to visit a new world and to derive from it the new courage which one receives when one realizes the

great untapped resources which are being mobilized on behalf of that cause for which we have made so many sacrifices.

What is the spirit of England after three and a half years? This is what you will ask me. Is it comparable, you may ask, to the magnificent morale which makes itself felt everywhere in the Dominion of Canada? I sometimes think there is a temptation to pay undue attention to our press. Even, I believe, in this continent, certainly in less northerly part of it, here and there you may have an organ of the press which specializes in the matter of headlines and sensations; and although our headlines are contemptible compared with yours whose acquaintance we made here, yet the substance which lies behind the form of the headlines is not unknown in our public life. Mr. Balfour once made the true observation that as a nation we take a gloomy pleasure in self-disparagement. I remember that a distinguished American, before his nation came into the war, was asked who would win the war, and he said he knew quite well. Great Britain would win the war and would always say she had lost it, and Germany would lose it and would always say she had won it. When, therefore, you read these recurrent attacks upon Governments by those who feel, and they may be right, that they are discharging some useful purpose by their criticisms, you must keep a sense of proportion. Three governments have held office in Great Britain since the month of August, 1914. I have been a member of two of them. The first was almost universally assailed as the weakest and the most incompetent government that ever bungled the early stages of a great war and endangered the future of the Empire; and in the end that Government, of which I was not a member, fell. I made that disclaimer, not as a contribution to the explanation of its decease, but because I wished to establish such a detached position in relation to it as would enable me to make a criticism upon the attacks made upon it. They may have made some mistakes, but I would have you observe that this is a war which has transcended all human experience. Men of all countries, called upon to deal with this gigantic war and its knotty problems have proven themselves inadequate to deal with those problems. This has been so; I do not care whether you take the record of the statesmen or of the soldiers. I say

that both soldiers and statesmen, face to face with problems of a complexity and immensity the like of which they have never even heard of, have of course made mistakes. It is a profound saying that the man who never makes mistakes never makes anything. But what was the fact about that first British War Government? The first steps were taken which, whatever the result of this war may be, have at least made it certain for all time that whatever be lost, honor—honor will be preserved. A tremendous decision was imposed upon the government, almost every member of which took pride in proclaiming the fact that he was a pacifist six months before the war. I did not share, as many of you did not share, the optimistic views which were held by the Liberal Party in Great Britain as to the European prospects, or as to the pacific dispositions of Germany. I did not hold those views; they did. A Government, holding those views, had to take in the space of three days, two of the most irrevocable decisions that British statesmen have ever been called upon to make; the first that we would enter the war, the second was that having entered the war we would send to France to meet the hazard of the onslaught of the millions of the German army, the only army we possessed in the world. Both of those decisions they took, and I think the historian, when he reckons up what was done, will not know which to put higher, their wisdom or their courage.

Two other governments have held office since then, making substantial contributions, each of them, to that conversion now almost complete from a nation organized for peace to a nation organized for war. I need not enlarge upon the changes involved in that complete conversion that we have undergone—you have had some of those changes take place among yourselves; but I might perhaps give you an illustration of the extent to which that change has modified the whole habits of the people. If you go anywhere in Great Britain to-day you will find that women are engaged not only in clerical pursuits, almost completely replacing the men in that capacity, but you will find that even in the hard manual tasks women are universally employed. I might give you one illustration of this. In a village near to my own house, in the country, a young lady, gently bred and nurtured, for the last

year has risen every morning at four o'clock for the purpose of doing hard manual labor on a farm, and after a year's work is counted the equal of any man laborer. There are many such cases to be discovered everywhere. At railway stations a woman will carry your bag or box in the capacity of a porter. I could not give you a finer illustration of the spirit everywhere, though I know you have many such in your midst, than one case with which I was officially acquainted, of a woman in an English town who had five sons. Three of them were killed, the fourth lost in France the use of both his eyes, and the only boy left was nearly nineteen years of age. The M.P. for the district in which she lived, knowing the facts, wrote to her and advised her to put the whole case before the tribunal, stating she had lost four boys, practically speaking; and if the tribunal would not release the last boy she was to let him know and he would go and see the authorities at the War Office and try if he could do it privately. She wrote back to him, and the letter is one of his most treasured possessions: "My boy and I have been talking it over, and as we make it out, it is his duty to go and try to avenge the others."

You will read different accounts of the morale of the British people. I can only state to you my impression. I would preface the statement by saying that when you read that the British people say so and so, and think so and so, and intend to do so and so, be quite sure that the expression is of the British people as a whole, and do not take one section of society to represent the voice of England. After three and a half years of war I am certain that the British people, as a whole, are determined to carry this war on, whatever the cost may be, to the end; they are as determined now as they were in August of 1914. The test of this matter is not to be found in the speeches made by individuals at meetings. I think the best illustration is this. There have been many, many bye-elections for the House of Commons since the war, how many I do not know, some thirty or forty, very likely more. No pacifist has ever won a seat; in fact, only one pacifist ever dared to stand since the war broke out. Although it is always dangerous to predict, yet it is my belief that if there were an election to-morrow in Great Britain on the issue whether the war should be carried to a decision or not,

there would not be any opposition at all in the new House of Commons to take the place of the present one.

You will have read perhaps with anxiety the criticisms which have been made by a distinguished writer upon military matters, Colonel Repington, upon the British Government. He deservedly enjoys a high reputation as one of those writers frequently dismissed as military experts. But even Colonel Repington is not always right. I remember one occasion when he certainly was right. In August, 1914, unless my memory plays me false, he said in the columns of the *Times* that we could not expect the Russians to be at Berlin before Christmas. If I may be permitted a homely phrase, he certainly scored a bull's eye there. I am not desirous of making any reflection either upon Colonel Repington's ability or his honesty. I have a high respect for him, but it is all very well to say that the Government ought to have ten or fifteen more divisions in France, and if divisions sprang up like mushrooms in the night while men were sleeping nothing would at once be more convenient or valuable; but the problem which statesmen have to consider is an extremely difficult one, and a practical one, that of man power. I do not believe that anybody is in a position to sit in judgment upon the government of Great Britain who has not had before him, day by day, collated for the purposes of comparison, the demands made upon the government for five or six absolutely essential industries, industries as essential as the army. Immense and necessary development has gone on in the navy. I am not sure that my figures are quite reliable, but they are roughly accurate; the navy has asked for as many as forty or fifty thousand men this year alone. Then, you know, because you have had the same question here, the impossibility of releasing any man who can be described as a pivotal man in any munition department. We must keep the pivotal men or we lose the value of all the others. We have to keep the mines going, and besides that we have to build the ships. We have to keep our agriculture going, and we cannot do it entirely, largely as we are doing it, with women. Another fact I would have you bear in mind is that if the government does not arrange for a certain increase in corn acreage next year it will be gambling with the whole existence of the British

Empire. It may be that undue care has been taken to keep the population on the soil, but there are certain matters which represent such sacred obligations that you can take no risk with them. As to shipbuilding, the most encouraging expectations were entertained and published as to the contribution which the United States would be able to make to shipbuilding production. I have no doubt that that contribution will ultimately be immense. It may well even prove to be decisive of the whole war; but certainly it will be slower in coming than was at one time hoped. We have to build ships and in large numbers; that means that we have to keep in Great Britain an enormous number of men who would otherwise be available for the army. I do not think it is an exaggerated statement to make that none of our allies has had so many and such complex duties thrust upon them, together with the maintenance of a vast army. I will not make the claim that we have always decided rightly. It is very easy to make a mistake, but I will say this: that the one object of the governments throughout has been to release the greatest possible available number of men for the army.

I want to add one other observation. Colonel Repington makes the criticism that the politicians or the government have interfered with the leaders of the army. I have only been a member of the Government a little more than two and a half years, but I make this statement in language I deliberately select, and with full knowledge. During that two and a half years the members of the staff at the head of the army have enjoyed the fullest confidence of the government; and they have been given the complete control, alike of the strategy and of the tactics of the war; and during that period at least, I say with knowledge, no civilian has interfered, nor so far as I know has attempted to interfere, with the operations of the soldiers.

I said before that I addressed you at a moment when the prospects were not of the brightest. The present position is of course, as you know, the result of the disappearance of Russia. Had Russia fought on in the past year, had a great Russian offensive accompanied and coincided with the French, the British and the Italian offensives, I believe that the war would have been over with the old year and victory would

have been ours. It is not at the moment possible to assign a period to it, but we are told of an overwhelming German offensive in the West. It does not become us, before the assault is made, to indulge in boasting, but we may at least be allowed to draw comfort from the reflection that this is not the first German offensive. They failed before, and we are bold enough to think that with the immensely increased resources at the disposal of the allies to-day, with the same spirit and breed of men, they will fail once again. Moreover, our men, as they meet that assault, will be fortified by the knowledge of the immense numerical resources of the United States, and by the thought of the stream of American soldiers who will be coming in ever greater numbers to form a great army reserve. They have only to hold out now and the result is as certain as it seemed to be before the Russians disappeared from the war. All that is wanted is tenacity, endurance, courage, and in those qualities the British nation has never yielded to any other nation. Civilian morale is as important as the morale of the soldiers in the trenches, and it is by the determination and the spirit of the whole nation that this, the last phase, of this bloody and desperate war, will be decided.

Gentlemen, confident that in every part of the Empire men of our blood will respond to the traditions to which their fathers were never false, let us face the future, not in the spirit of vainglory and boastfulness. Let us rather face it with the determination proper to men who find themselves in a great war against their wishes—because no peaceful role could buy for them either the security or honor that they would; reluctantly because we never willed it, but resolutely because we will never have it again, let us see this struggle through.

(January 28th, 1918)

## DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY

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By SIDNEY HILLMAN

*General President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers  
of America*

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I TAKE it that this audience is composed mostly of business men, and I do not plead with you to accept all that I may have to say here this afternoon. I feel that what is mostly needed to-day is an attitude of tolerance to different views. If the great problems that are facing the world to-day are to be solved and solved properly, we need the intelligence, the views and the co-operation of all. There is no question that we are at present in an age of reconstruction. Great changes are taking place; changes that were never dreamed of by the great multitude of people, changes that are staggering the human imagination are constantly taking place to-day. All one has to do is to take this morning's paper, glance over the several items of news and this tremendous change is apparent. Government ownership, government regulation, state control of food and fuel, control of production, these are natural, expected occurrences. In the States only a few days ago we were told to shut off industry for five days. I am not discussing here whether the policy is wise or unwise, but we are ready to do it, to accept almost any rule or regulation. Everybody understands that things are not to-day what they have been in the past, and what is essential in my judgment is to understand the motive of these changes, the causes for them, so that we may intelligently guide the course of events. We cannot stop it; all that we possibly can do is guide it, and in order to guide it intelligently we must understand it. There is to-day more unrest throughout the world than perhaps in any phase

of human history. We may as well accept this fact. What are the reasons for it? Labor is better paid to-day than in times past, and still we find upheavals in different forms, from the extreme Russian form, in the expression of the Russian Bolsheviki, to the perhaps more enlightened form of the British Labor Party. The same thing is happening in Italy as well as in France and in the United States. There is an unrest, an undercurrent all over. We have, a few days ago, one of the greatest men in industry in the United States making a statement that coming from anybody else would have been cried down as revolutionary and irresponsible. Mr. Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, a gentleman who states that he has to-day orders amounting to about seven hundred and fifty millions of dollars on hand, he says: "We are at the threshold of a new social era and the changes will come much sooner than we expect them." He claims that those who toil, who labor, are going to rule the world. I am not giving this statement to ask you to subscribe to it, but to bring out that there is this strong undercurrent everywhere. The British Labor Party has placed before the British people the most radical, revolutionary programme—that the State itself should take care of all the employed, that the State should be responsible for the employment of the individuals. What more radical measure in the direction of labor could we have? Then conscription of wealth is now commonly discussed in every civilized country—the question is but one of degree. We are on the way, we are perhaps in the midst of the greatest change in human and social relationships, and what we have to do is to study those causes and try to see that the road that we are going to travel should not lead to destruction, and that we should use all our efforts towards construction. Misunderstanding is perhaps the cause of most human trouble. The greatest illustration to-day perhaps is the lack of understanding for the Russian Revolution that we are paying the penalty to-day. Anyone who has studied and investigated the Russian situation knows that if we had understood the Russian Revolution six months ago, if we had assumed the attitude that we are assuming to-day, the world might have looked different now. No less a student than Colonel Thompson, who went with the Red Cross to Russia

on behalf of the United States, claims that the cause of the downfall of the Kerensky Government was the lack of understanding, the lack of co-operation from our side to the Russian Government. I think that the greatest service that President Wilson has contributed to the cause of the Allies to-day was the placing before the public a sympathetic understanding of the Russian situation. And so, if we do not want to make the same blunders in the future, we must learn to understand, we must look upon those causes and study them.

If we will study it closely, we will find that the cause for unrest is the struggle of labor for power. It is not a struggle simply for a few material things, not the desire for a few dollars more or a few hours less; but labor throughout the world wants and insists upon a place of power. We might say that labor is looking for its place in the sun to-day. It wants to bring into industry the democracy we have to-day in politics. Labor's aim and labor's desire is for participation in the government of industry, not for destruction, not for anarchy; but to have its say in industry, where it has to spend most of its time. You can find this expression in the different forms. We may find it in the Russian form, where, referring again to Colonel Thompson, the responsibility for the Bolsheviki rule lies, not upon them, but upon those classes in Russia who refused to co-operate in the direction of legitimate, constructive reform; because after all everything must find its natural flow, must find its level, and if the natural tendency of things is obstructed it will take the form of destruction. These two different modes are exemplified to-day in Russia and England. In one place there was opposition to the normal and right development of labor, and we have the Russian Revolution; in the other, under the parliamentary way of reconstructing society, we have the British Labor Party making a programme for legislation to submit to the electorate.

What I would like to bring out is that the form is not determined by labor. Whether the expression will find itself in the terms of revolution or evolution is wholly determined by the attitude of society towards labor. I do not know exactly what is the attitude of your newspapers here in regard to the Russian situation. In our country we have assumed the easiest way, and that is to abuse. We have abused

Kerensky at the beginning; now the newspapers who are friendly to Kerensky are abusing Lenine. I do not know what will happen in the future. It is the easiest thing to abuse; it is much harder to understand, because you have to learn how to understand. I remember 1905 in Russia. I remember when the Russian democracy was struggling for the same mode of freedom as every civilized country had at that time for parliamentary rule, and I recall the Miliukoffs of that day, the Constitutional Democrats, pleading with capital of France and England not to give money to the autocracy of the Czar, which at that time was in bankruptcy, pleading with them to withhold the money for a while and permit the Russian democracy to take hold of its affairs. What a different situation we should have to-day if Russia had developed entirely along the parliamentary road!

Very few of those people who have been responsible recognize their own responsibility in the matter. They made impossible the natural development of things. Russian democracy was crushed; but only those who do not know, who do not understand, think that one can crush a tendency, a natural development of the human race. You can only put it underground and make the explosion so much more effective when the explosion comes. That is the history of Russia. That is the history that repeats itself in most countries. The trouble is that we do not want to learn, the trouble is that we do not want to part with power, until we know that it is absolutely inevitable. This, in my judgment, is the fundamental cause; and all I ask of you is, not to accept my views, but just to think about them and meet them with a spirit of understanding.

We do not see the contradictions of society to-day. During the last few centuries we fought and established political freedom. Everybody recognizes to-day the absolute necessity of political freedom, of democracy in politics, in social life. Very few of you would suggest to-day that we should go back to the autocratic method of political government. Even if it should be an efficient autocracy, even if it should be an autocracy which would assure us all the necessities of life, we would not want it, because life does not consist of simply being fed, of being warm. Life is meaningless if we cannot find a mode

of self-expression. We must make our contribution to life or it is meaningless, whether it is in business, in work, in religion, in art, in anything; we must live our own life, not the life that is prescribed by others. I remember before the United States entered into the war, when we were neutral, that there were a few in America who sympathized with the Teutonic alliance. I was at that time in Cincinnati, Ohio, and a friend of mine told me about the wonderful things they had in Germany—employment insurance, sick insurance, all kinds of insurance, the government taking the best care of the people, and so on, and I asked him whether he ever visited a good hospital, well organized, a hospital where everything is arranged well, where you eat on time, sleep on time, everything arranged for the physical well-being of the patient, and I asked him if he would like to go and live in a hospital. This is not what we are looking for. We want to make our own blunders, and correct them, and pay the penalty. We do not want autocracy even if it is benevolent autocracy.

Very likely all or most of you will agree with me on that when I go as far as politics. Now labor wants to carry the same principle into the shop—that is the whole question of the aims of labor. If democracy is right, if we should have our say on election day, decide on our form of government, make our own blunders and pay for them, labor does not feel that when it goes to the shop, to spend the whole of life practically, that there should occur the change from democracy to autocracy. Democracy in politics and autocracy in industry will not hold. We cannot go on teaching our children in the schools to hate autocracy, to sacrifice themselves for the principle of self-government, to love freedom and liberty and to be willing to make sacrifices for it,—and then at the age of fourteen put them in a shop where all those principles are being denied, where the foreman and the shop boss is an autocrat, even if sometimes benevolent. We do not want Kaiserism, no matter in what expression. People who want to give us advice on our physical well-being have to study. We have got laws against any man practicing medicine unless he had studied, and prepared himself for it. We have laws prohibiting a man taking money to defend us in court unless he is qualified; and the State takes it upon itself to see that there

is no fraud in these matters. We have regulated everything; we have forgotten only one thing, and this is where ninety-five per cent. of the people have to make their living. There is no regulation there. A man with a few hundred dollars, even a doubtful credit, can open a shop, can employ young girls, take them out from the family, make their lives and determine their future; because you cannot say you are leaving the child the freedom to determine its future, if from the age of fourteen or fifteen years of age you put him to work which he does not choose and which in no way appeals to him or develops him. You put the child, the girl to work on some small contract in a shop, without any protection, any rule, and the man may close up the shop and run away with a week's pay, and there is no law against it. It is business—business as usual.

Now, what I would like to bring out to you is this, that unless we change conditions intelligently, conditions will be changed unintelligently. I am not going to discuss with you whether my position is right or wrong. Some of you will say labor should have no power, labor should mind its own business, it should be contented if it gets the privilege to work—sometimes indeed you know that work is a privilege. We have to-day in the United States hundreds, thousands of people out in one city that I know, while there is a scarcity of labor in other places. Work is a privilege and even if you hold the idea that labor should be contented—well labor is *not* contented—what are you going to do about it? That is the question. It is not a question of whether we want it that way. Labor is a power, labor is recognizing its power, especially during this crisis of war. Labor is called upon to make the greatest sacrifices, and is willing to make those sacrifices. Labor is making those sacrifices cheerfully; but labor is learning a tremendous lesson, that it has rights also. The question is, how are we going to adjust our difficult problems? Labor's contention is that in the shop it must have its rights guaranteed. It does not ask in just these words, it asks for the union shop, and more strikes have been fought on that issue than on any other. To-day we have the whole packing industry in the United States in a state of ferment. Perhaps the government will have to take it over to avert a strike. It is not a question of wages or of hours—they will agree to arbitrate those questions.

What the packers object to is collective bargaining, the recognition of the Union. What they want is individual bargaining, and it is perfectly reasonable from their point of view. If a man does not like it he can go elsewhere. This is very fine when you have no other job, or you may go to the head of the concern and lay your grievances before him. Well, when Nicholas was the Little Father in Russia the same offer was proclaimed: "I am the Little Father, you may lay your grievances before me." They could journey from Odessa to Petrograd and put before him their grievances, and a great number tried it, but they never reached there. What labor wants is the recognition of that right, to be dealt with as a people who have the right to combine, the right to be asked for what they want, the right to make their own blunders. That is what collective bargaining means. If we have to work for less, let it be because we agree to it, not because the employer says we must. That principle has been recognized by the British government and that is why we have the co-operation of labor there. British labor is working overtime, Sundays and all that, but they themselves have agreed to it.

Now my time is up, and I want to say these words to you. We are not only at the threshold, we are in a new social era. We are at a time when tremendous changes are taking place. Labor is demanding freedom in that place where it concerns him most. He feels that he was fooled a little with political freedom, that all it means to him is that he shall throw in his vote, for a few cigars or something like that most of the time, and he does not consider that it is worth so much to him. Labor want not freedom only, labor wants to have the responsibility to which it is entitled, wants to be a partner in that great responsibility that lies upon all of us. There are two ways of development to that goal; there is the Russian way, and I would like to emphasize once more that only a few months ago the Bolsheviki were in a small minority, and if they are to-day in the majority it is not because they have convinced the classes that were against them, but because labor was convinced that this is the only way, not the best way. Then you have the British way, the way of discussion, the way of submitting the issue to a majority and standing by the decision of the majority. The aims are the same, the goal is the same,

the method is different. Now which shall it be? That is the problem. Misunderstanding, lack of co-operation, distrust, leads one way. The other way is by understanding. The great question that is being asked in each country to-day is, which way shall it be?

(February 4, 1918)

## THE MIND OF THE UNITED STATES

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By the RIGHT REV. C. P. ANDERSON, D.D.

*Bishop of Chicago*

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IT was a little over a year ago when I was dining at the home of some friends, there were some people there whom I had met for the first time, and my hostess confided to me, when we were entering the dining-room, that there were two subjects which were not discussed at her table—one of them was the war, and the other was Billy Sunday. But, madam, I said, what is there left to talk about? That little incident probably serves to indicate that at that place in the world at that particular time, both politics and religion were in a somewhat unsettled condition. Since then politics have settled down, and some of the religious controversies have been forgotten in the presence of a common purpose and a common passion. I am not going to speak to this gathering to-day about the war, although I am going to speak on a subject somewhat closely related to it; and, of course, I am not going to speak about that truly phenomenal Christian gentleman whose name I have just given you. I am going to speak to you, if I may, about the United States of America. I thought, gentlemen, that it would not be inappropriate if I were to undertake to interpret the dominating mind—I do not say the unanimous mind—but the dominating mind and the controlling spirit and the prevailing temper of the people of the United States, especially in their relation to this great conflict in which your country and my country are now both so earnestly engaged. I am conscious that much that I will say to you will be familiar ground, it may seem like rehearsing to you your own experiences; but I, nevertheless, covet the privilege, as an American citizen, to speak about my own country in this war, and I

hope that what gives me pleasure to say will not be painful to your own ears.

In the first place, I think the American people have a profound satisfaction and a feeling of deep gratitude that the United States has responded to the high and holy call of duty, in entering into the great conflict for worldwide civilization. There are many who think that she should have entered the war earlier in the game; but I think it is only fair to remember that those who were at the centre of administration were in possession of more facts than were those at the circumference, and there is an extreme probability that she entered the war just as soon as it was clear that the country, with all its strength, would be behind her. Many of us feel that the American nation has undergone a moral crisis since August, 1914. It always is a crisis in the life of any man or nation to be a mere onlooker at a colossal tragedy, a sharer in the spoils, but not a sharer in the sacrifices. Under such circumstances nations and men may lose their moral fibre, their spiritual manhood, their capacity for lofty emotion, their ability to stand up to great ideals. From the time that war was declared many of us felt ill at ease, for while we realized, as you have realized, what it might mean in blood and treasure, we, nevertheless, felt that it was better to risk our bodies than to risk our souls. It is a significant thing that the American nation entered the war on that solemn day of the Christian year, Good Friday. To many of us it is significant of the fact that the nation entered in the spirit of Him who came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister. It must be as clear as daylight even to our common enemy, that on our part it is no war of aggression or gain or conquest. We covet nobody's possessions, desire to dominate no other people in the world; but, nevertheless, we enter this war, with the grimdest determination on the part of America to contribute its share towards ridding the world of International anarchy, towards ridding the world of that awful thing called scientific frightfulness, of that conception of the State which over-rides individual morality, which recognizes no corporate morality, and which instigates and justifies the most barbarous inventions that the world has ever seen at any period of its history. We believe that our President has expressed the purpose of our

country in language which will go down to posterity with some of the celebrated words of that great American, Abraham Lincoln. We believe that it is a war to make the world safe for democracy, and, we hope, also to make democracy safe for the world. Again, the war is producing, in the United States, a marvellous spirit of unity of purpose. A new nation is being born, a homogeneous nation is being born out of a lot of heterogeneous groups. It does not seem to be generally appreciated that the citizenship of the United States is made up of citizens of all the peoples in the world; that there is no common tie of race or of blood or of language or of religion. It has been in the presence of all the dangers that go with national heterogeneity. Out of those conditions of which I have spoken, a homogeneous nation is being born, one people, one cause and one flag. Take our city of Chicago. It speaks forty-five languages every day of the year. It reads the daily newspapers in thirty languages, goes to the theatre and listens to plays in about twenty languages, it worships God in I know not how many languages. It has as many Germans in it as can be found in the fifth largest city in Germany. It has as many Swedes as in the second largest city in Sweden. To the north of us is a city known as the American colony. To the south of us there is a large city that is entirely dominated by men of European birth and extraction. Just opposite my house in Chicago is a vacant lot. In that vacant lot some of the new recruits are being trained. When orders were given, the very familiar military orders, there were those present who did not understand what they meant; they not only did not know how to carry them out, but they did not know what the words meant. "Forward, March," would be called, and the officer would have to step out and illustrate what the words meant. I had occasion to make an address in one of the Y.M.C.A. buildings. About thirty-five hundred men were present and about one-quarter of them left as soon as I rose to my feet. I did not mind that a bit, I did not blame them, for they were all those who could not understand the English language. One of our negro soldiers was called upon to attend some French lessons in the camp. Many of those who do not understand English are being taught that language, and those who do not know French have to attend

French lessons. This particular boy said he did not want to learn to speak French. He was not listed for France, he was listed for Berlin.

It is a nation of that sort, made up of men whose traditions touch every country of Europe, that has at last gone into the war, as one man, as one voice, and having one purpose. You can see what that means, if you just contrast what has happened and what might have happened in a country like that. One thing is perfectly clear; either we had to wait until we could go in with all our might, or else not go in at all. I believe we have gone in with all our might. The people of the United States are devoting their resources of men and money to this war for civilization. First, the men. I think you will agree with me that it was rather a remarkable accomplishment that the draft should go through Congress of the United States with practical unanimity. When one considers the controversy over it in England, the defeat of it in Australia, the difficulties attending upon it here in Canada, it is a truly remarkable thing that it went through in a very short time, with practical unanimity down in Washington. It was not a case of the Government foisting upon the people something which they did not want—it was a case of the people pushing the Government, and the people have responded to it. We have had scarcely any difficulty whatever with the "Conscientious Objector." We have had extremely few people trying to claim exemption. The people have walked up in response to the call with a quite remarkable unanimity. Let me illustrate that by the example of my profession. Most of you know the old canon of the church, forbidding a minister of the Gospel to carry arms. He may serve in any other capacity in war, but not in that capacity. In France that has been over-ridden, and the French clergy, with splendid courage, are doing heroic duty in the trenches. In England the bishops have had great difficulty in controlling the clergy under the canon. In the United States, the young men who were studying for the ministry are, under the law, exempt. I can only speak now for a limited portion of those young men, those with whom I have come in contact. Only one claimed exemption and he is now gone to the war. It is becoming difficult to keep some of our churches going because of the eagerness

of the clergy to get into service. There is one young man I would like to tell you about, one of my own clergy. He tried to get into the service as a chaplain, but he could not. There were better men ahead of him. Then he tried to become a volunteer chaplain and failed. Then he went to an officers' training camp and tried to get in there, but failed on account of some physical defect. Then he tried to get in as a private, but failed for the same reason. I advised him then to settle down and go to work, and I gave him an appointment to a church and I supposed he was there, when lo, and behold, I discovered that he had come over to Canada. I don't know whether he told the whole truth or not, but at this present minute he is serving over in France with the Canadian soldiers. I do not know whether to discipline him when he comes back or promote him. I think I shall promote him. That is only an illustration, and the business man, the lawyer, the doctor, can tell similar stories about their own profession. Our business men over there have learned a lesson from you, and the very word Canada brings forth storms of applause, from one end of the United States to the other. Our business men are doing what yours have done, many of them giving up their jobs and serving their country for a dollar a day, and glad of the privilege. We are glad that we have such large resources of men and money to put into the war—and when I say that I do not count the Liberty Bond, as you do not count the Victory Bond. The President of the First National Bank of Chicago, another Canadian—they do get hold of the banks when they come over there—was making a speech in behalf of the Y. M. C. A. campaign, and he pointed out that subscriptions to the Liberty Bond did not count as subscriptions, as he said he had read in the Scriptures that “the Lord loveth a cheerful giver,” but nowhere had he read that the Lord loveth a cheerful investor, and the Liberty Bond was simply a good investment. At a dinner attended by Lord Northcliffe and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, at which I was present, Lord Northcliffe subscribed for some Liberty Bonds, and I said to Mr. O'Connor who sat next to me: “What do you think of a good Britisher coming over and spending his British gold in the United States?” I will tell you precisely what Mr. O'Connor said. “I think, my lord, if you do not mind my saying it, it is a

damn good investment." Leaving out the adjective, we all agree with him. Then we raised the whole of fifty-five millions for the Y. M. C. A. and I do not know how many millions for the Red Cross, and the various agencies that make their appeal at this time. At the same time we are trying to hold the home lines in our churches and our charities, for we believe that it would be a very poor victory for civilization if, in trying to win the war abroad, we lost out in all the cultivating, civilizing agencies that centre at home. One cannot but be thankful for the extraordinary solicitude that is being shown for the moral and physical well-being of the soldiers. The terrors of war are not on the battlefields only; the terrors of war have taken the shape also of intemperance, impurity and disease. You know that as well as I do. I do not want to make it appear that those terrors are being removed, but the Government and the church and the social agencies and the educational institutions are uniting in an educational propaganda, which centres around the moral and physical well-being of our soldiers. We want to win the war, but we want our soldiers to have the strength of purity and the victory of self-control. Mere bigness is no excellence in itself. A nation is not great, the United States is not great, the British Empire is not great, simply because it has so many hundreds of millions of people, large cities, such an army or such a navy. History gives us all clear warnings of great dynasties that have fallen, not because the army ceased to be invincible, not because the ships ceased to ride mistress of the sea, not because the treasury became exhausted or taxes became too high, but because certain impurities ate into the vitals of the dominating life of the country, in the presence of which no nation has ever survived. Mere bigness in itself is nothing, but when a nation measures up to the magnitude of its resources in the magnitude of its moral principles, then is it truly great. The United States is a greater nation since it went into the war than it was before it went into the war.

Then, I think, there is amongst us a feeling of extreme satisfaction that the burden of expense is being more equitably distributed than in any previous war in the world's history. A great many wars have been fought by the poor for the benefit

of the rich. In this war, the rich are doing more of the paying than ever, and the poor are having a greater opportunity than ever before for holding the national securities. I was a frequent visitor to England before the war broke out. You may not agree with me, but I would like to say this just the same, that I came home the last time, and I said at my own table and elsewhere that England was on the edge of a great social catastrophe. It seemed to me that no country in the world of my acquaintance set so vast a gulf between the rich and the poor; wealth seemed so irresponsible and poverty so frightfully sordid. War has narrowed the gulf between the rich and the poor. The rich are not so rich as they were, and the poor are richer than they were. Yes, there are great moral issues being worked out in this great conflict, and let me conclude by saying that the United States is extremely proud of the company it keeps. It is proud to be allied again, in spite of what happened a century or so ago, proud to be allied with old England; proud to go back and pay some part of its debt of gratitude to its old friend, France; proud to have little, suffering, martyred Belgium associated with it; proud to be associated with brave Australia and with stalwart Canada;—proud of its company. Bound together, as you and I are, in a great struggle, in a great conflict for the civilization of the world, it seems to me that your people and my people ought to take a sort of a triple oath that that power that sprang at the throat of an unsuspecting world, and wrought such devastation and havoc throughout Europe, shall never set foot in this Western Hemisphere; and that as long as grass grows and water runs, Canada and America are going to be friends.

(February 14, 1918)

## THE SPIRIT OF ENGLAND—OLD AND NEW

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By GEOFFREY BUTLER, C.B.E.

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I WISH I could tell you how deeply honored and pleased I feel at receiving your very generous invitation to address you here in Montreal. I wonder if you know how much it means to those who, like myself, are trying to do some of the Government work for the Empire in the Republic down below us to come up to Canada and get into touch once again with a Canadian welcome and a Canadian heart. That beloved man of whose death you have heard this morning with such a shock of personal sorrow, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, one of the best friends Canada ever had in Washington, told me some two years ago when I first was under his tutelage in the embassy, —I remember him now sitting there when he was very tired one evening during that anxious time of the neutrality of the United States, a time which tried the resources and temper of every diplomat,—“Yes, I do feel very tired; but I am going up to Canada soon, and when one sees what Canada has suffered and Canada has done, one always comes back wanting to go on until one drops.” Yes, gentlemen, I am speaking for that band of Englishmen who come across from the other side to the United States. We often think of this haven, our Lady of the Snows, our Lady of Sorrows, and just because of that perhaps, our Lady of Comfort.

I wonder whether, in the Dominion as in the Republic one of the first questions that one is expected to reply is, “When will the war end?” Well, only fools prophesy about the war. I believe it is going to be a long war, and if anybody feels disheartened about that, I ask him to think of all the

treasure and all the blood that has been outpoured. Was it not a Canadian poet, in those exquisite lines: "In Flanders' Field the Poppies Grow," who enjoined upon all who are living to be true to the glory of the dead?

I said I would speak of Great Britain and the spirit there, old and new. The more I have thought about it the more I feel it was not a very aptly chosen subject. There are some people who would tell you that everything is being turned topsy-turvy; we are to emerge a kind of Bolsheviki England; a Bolsheviki Scotland; a Bolsheviki Ireland. I do not think one can draw the distinction between the old and new as sharply as that. Let me give you a case in point. There is a spirit abroad which perhaps you do not hear very much about over here, a growing devotion and loyalty to that wise, democratic, self-sacrificing and modest man, King George V. Down there in America they sometimes say to me: "This King affair of yours is rather a bum show, isn't it?" or "The King does not cut much ice," or "The only thing we have heard about him is that he fell off his horse." I need not tell loyal Canadians that that is a very mistaken idea. I do not believe there is any man harder worked in the British Empire than is the King. I had the honor some time ago of seeing something of the work which he was doing; and from early morning, six o'clock every morning, all his spare time is taken up in the writing of letters, receiving of letters from statesmen, from governor-generals, from Viceroys, from Lieutenant-Governors, from people of all sorts all over the country. Do you know how he spends his afternoons? Every afternoon that he is free is spent on a visit to some hospital or some Convalescent Home where officers or men are making recovery from the terrible wounds they have received in France. Every day the constant strain, the demand for sympathy is borne. Any of you who have been in a hospital know what it is to go there every day. He would be out at the front, we all know over there, if it were not for the fact that he realizes that if he did it would be a trouble to Haig and the other commanders. Here is a story that he will not allow to be told,—he is not a man that deals in publicity. Wherever there are labor troubles he goes. It is the King every time who is asked to go to Bristol, to the shipyards, or to Glasgow (there is a very nasty

feeling up there sometimes), and he is always ready to speak a good word to tired men and try to cheer them up, and to smooth away any friction or misunderstanding. I know this, because I have had a good deal to do with labor during the war; I was on one or two arbitration boards. One does not hear much talk about it, but there is growing a new spirit and fervor in the singing of God Save the King. He is the only man, the only statesman who has made no mistake in the war.

Perhaps this one point which I touch on and like to elaborate will give us the key to the proper formula for stating the difference between the new spirit and the old. It does not seem to me that we have got a totally new spirit abroad, rather is it a new loyalty to all that is best and noblest in the old. Now people say to-day that there are no great men. I take it the same thing was said days gone by, days which record the deeds of great men. It is true to some extent that modern war is a business so colossal that there cannot be that finality of achievement about the work of any individual statesman that was possible in the Napoleonic time; but to anyone who has the imagination to see, this is an era ranking with the greatest in history. We have passed through, during the past fifty years, a great era of prosperity. It was a time when we were expanding in every direction, and you gentlemen and men like you were putting the cornerstone and the greatness of Canada forever upon the map. I do not think any of you will quarrel with me or think I minimize that achievement when I say that that era was marked to some extent by the predominance of materialism. What were the mottoes of that period? "Upon the Empire the sun never sets." Certain statesmen, certain enthusiasts even went so far as to say that soon the whole world would speak the English language as the official language! But it is not in times of great expansion—necessary as they are to provide the stage upon the Imperial drama must be enacted—that we find those things which most stir our blood and those thoughts which most inspire our hearts. Rather, we think of times of suffering, of times of struggle; for instance, of the deeds of Great Britain when opposing Napoleon at a time when all the allies deserted her; of the Mons retreat; of the gas attack at the second battle of Ypres. Those are the times worth living for and worth dying for.

You remember that in the Napoleonic era Great Britain played a part which is written in history. They were fighting in Africa and Asia, in America North and South, and they played a part which can never be forgotten; and in this war, too, I think she has played a part which even before the public opinion of Canada and the other Dominions she has no right to be ashamed. I shall speak for a few moments of some of the achievements of the British race in this war, some of which are not known. Do you know that she has laid down a system of railroads in France considerably larger than that of the whole Pennsylvania Railroad in the United States—very nearly four thousand miles, with a great double track, stretching through from Calais, through France to Italy? and that this railroad, which was begun in March, opened for the transport of material in July and was fully in working order for the transport of troops and material in the month of August? That is going some, I think. And this recklessness of speed is not necessarily accompanied by waste or profligacy in the disposal of the public funds. You cannot know to what great extent conservation of every sort of material is being practised. Let me tell you one little thing to illustrate this. When I was last in France they ran out of the china pots for containing that jam which is part of the joy and sustenance of all the soldiers at the front, and they adopted a new expedient of making little containers of paper pulp, and by that process alone saved one million seven hundred thousand dollars. It is not only in figures that one can judge the achievement of the British race. I think the one incident which has impressed me most in the course of the two years I spent in England at the beginning of the war was the constant going and coming from the ports of the little merchant ships—going and sometimes not returning, but when returning filled with a crew who did not skulk at home, who did not drink away their wages,—and God knows they had earned their wages as very few men have earned their wages in the world,—but it's "on a new ship quickly and Westward Ho! again." I saw one of these skippers come into the office and it struck me that there was something that differentiated him a little from the others. He was an elderly man for one thing, and this made me inquire who he was. They said: "He is a retired admiral of the

British Navy, seventy-two years old. They would not let him get back into the naval service, so he goes out on his own, on a mine sweeper, and he has been out for ten months and has never been in port for more than three days, on return."

But it is not, I think, primarily in the naval or the military sphere that I would ask you to pass judgment upon Great Britain. After all, when summing up it is always in ideas of government that you will find that Great Britain has been a fruitful mother; and I say that you must judge her on that test, and if she fails in that test even at this great time of trouble and anxiety, then we have lost our brief; we must admit ourselves defeated. Is it so? There is not a house, not a single house from one end of England to another where the angel of Death has not touched at least once; and yet in the House of Parliament to-day they are occupying their minds with one of the most far-reaching educational bills that has ever been before the legislature of the country. We have got six and a half million men, of English-speaking men, under arms. Surely this is a time when stability in home affairs might be regarded as axiomatic? Yet they are having a Franchise Bill introduced which makes the Reform Bill of 1832 look mild; and at a time when the expert soldier and sailor and the expert business man is more in request than ever before in the history of the Empire, at that time we have got labor enthroned in control of the destiny of those islands.

What does it all mean? Just as in the Nineteenth Century, so in the Twentieth Century, a peaceful revolution has been accomplished; and that peaceful revolution has once more as its stage the setting of English public life. If you take the Nineteenth Century you find the forces of reaction struggling with a force under the general term of liberalism. On the continent of Europe in the Nineteenth Century liberalism took a more crude form, and at a time when European liberals were still talking of blowing up kings, the Liberal party in England had cornered the places in the cabinet and had developed a Liberal opinion in Imperial, domestic and foreign affairs. They made liberalism safe for the world, because they made liberalism constitutional. At Nottingham the other day Mr. Arthur Henderson said, I think, one of the most significant sentences that has been uttered for some time—

"Labor must remain a constitutional movement." In the programme of the labor conferences and congresses you are seeing the forces of labor settle down into the governmental sphere, seeing labor take a constitutional form. You are seeing, if we may use the term, democracy being made safe for the world, and that at a time when the most serious tests have been brought to bear upon the government and upon the constitution of England.

Is not that an answer to the question what England is doing? Does she answer the test which I put to you just now? I hope you will answer that she does. Of course there are different ways of looking at the labor movement, as there were different ways in the nineteenth century of looking at the Liberal movement; but can it be possible to deny that on the whole it is consonant with the development and progress of humankind? According to the way you answer that question you must answer any searchings in your heart about the part which England is playing upon the world stage at this time. Now only the most academically-minded would wish to sum up in political terms the equation which embraces all the bodily and material and spiritual suffering at this time; but the nobler instincts of mankind have always tried to find the spiritual and sacrificial aspect of suffering. Until we come to think of each death or crippling wound in the service of the Empire as an act of mediation to an end, surely no one can bear to contemplate what is going on now in all the countries of the world. But, thank Heaven, we can think of the generations that are yet unborn, or the generations that are lately born; and we can perhaps see, in the obedience unto death that others may live and live well and happily, a means to the nobler being of these new generations.

(February 18, 1918)

## FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF CANADA

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By the HON. FRANK B. CARVELL

*Minister of Public Works*

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I AM not going to talk to you about the war itself, but I will speak about some of the problems which we must face in Canada as a result of the war, and perhaps there should be no audience to whom a man could more properly talk about these financial problems than this audience at the Canadian Club. We ought to have around these tables this noon the real business interests of the whole Dominion of Canada, and therefore I know of no audience with whom a person might better discuss some of these great financial problems.

There is hardly a man in Canada, I think, to-day, who has not found himself in a better financial position individually since the war started than he was before that. The people of Canada, not only the producers, the manufacturers, the banking corporations, but the laboring people and the ordinary people of Canada have prospered to a degree which no person ever imagined possible three or four years ago. But it is also a fact that while the people of Canada have waxed rich the Government of Canada has been getting poorer and poorer all the time, a condition of affairs which no government in Canada has ever had to face before, and one about which the people would not have known what to think three or four years ago. Before the war the total revenues of this country reached from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five millions of dollars, practically all gathered from duties, customs duties and excise duties, and we hardly knew we were paying taxes, we were paying so few. This money was spent, sometimes wisely and probably sometimes unwisely, but it came so easily, that it did not make much difference. We paid our

interest charges, our expenses, and we had very respectable surpluses left over to devote to public works. This year, we have to raise not less than eight hundred millions of dollars. I am not here to talk policies. That would be out of place; although I think we could very well import into this country some of the principles which they adopt in the old country, by which they announce policies at gatherings such as this. I do think that public men should discuss these matters more freely with the general public than they have been in the habit of doing in the past. We have got to raise at least two hundred and fifty millions of dollars in order to carry on the ordinary affairs of the country; and that includes such things as we have been carrying on in the past, plus the interest charges, which during this year cannot be less than sixty millions of dollars, and possibly may reach to seventy or seventy-five millions of dollars. It also includes another debt which must be paid no matter what the consequence, the pensions due to the brave men laying down their lives in France and Flanders for Canada. While I cannot tell you exactly what it will be, it will not be less than ten millions of dollars, and it may go as high as fifteen or twenty millions. Now I believe it will be no trouble to get enough money; it will come automatically. Our trade is splendid, our exports are the biggest in the history of Canada, and we will have all the money we want to carry on the ordinary affairs of the country and pay our interest, and so forth, and probably have thirty or thirty-five millions surplus. But what I want to impress upon the people of this country is the fact that in order to carry on that great export trade with the Mother Country it will be necessary to raise at least four hundred millions of dollars, to pay for the things we sell to them. That is an absolute fact.

It may interest you to know that during the present fiscal year, while the figures are not complete, as nearly as I can get at them, we shall send to Great Britain probably over nine hundred millions of dollars' worth of stuff. That includes munitions, but unfortunately we only import from that country about eighty-five or ninety millions of dollars' worth of stuff, which leaves an adverse balance of trade of over eight hundred millions. They cannot send us money from Great Britain.

The exchange is such that it is an impossibility. The only possible way we can furnish these goods is to find ourselves the money for our wheat, our cheese, our bacon, our beef, all the supplies necessary to feed Great Britain and France and feed our army, and send it over there with a view to a reckoning day later on. We must raise four hundred millions of dollars at least for that purpose. Then we have some other problems which will, I am sorry to say, take some money. I am sorry to say that the railway problem will take up thirty or forty millions of dollars. We have other internal problems which must be faced, also. Then we have to raise at least one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty-five millions of dollars in order to pay our debts and carry on the army in Canada. In addition to that we have to pay out one hundred and eighty to two hundred millions of dollars for our army in Britain; but that is paid by the British government and charged up to us. Outside of the amount of money furnished to our troops in France in pay, for supplies and ammunition on the other side, it is going to take in the vicinity of eight hundred millions of dollars in order to carry on the affairs of this country this year. Where is the money coming from? We cannot raise more than two hundred and fifty millions of dollars from our ordinary revenues as they have been carried on in the past. There is, however, this rather pleasant thought. The people of Canada have grown rich, and in the past winter, when the Government has called for money, they have always responded and responded nobly. If any man had told you three and a half years ago that any Government in Canada could raise four hundred millions of dollars in the space of a fortnight, you would have called him a darn fool; yet last December that wonderful feat was performed, and I have sufficient faith in the patriotism and loyalty of the people of Canada to think that if we have to come to them next August or September for a like sum, we will get it.

I want to tell you, gentlemen—and I think this should be talked at every public gathering in Canada—the time has come when we must be self-supporting. We must buy our produce and send it across the ocean, and there is no way of getting the money unless the people of Canada dig down in their pockets and give money in greater quantities than in

the past. I have sufficient faith to believe they will do it. We cannot get money from Great Britain, we cannot get it over here. We cannot get as much money from the United States as we would like to. They have come into this war. At present they are running their own financial obligations, loaning billions of dollars to the allies, and they are not disposed to loan us as much money as we would like to borrow from them, though we hope that some arrangement may be made by which we can get more. In the end we shall succeed in getting the money, and the people of Canada will have the chance to sell their produce, and the men in the firing line and behind the lines will receive this produce, and the war will go on. I am not going to say what the policy of the Government of the country will be. We are at war, not only collectively, but individually. I say this war will go on and Canada will stay in this war until the very end. The money will be produced from some source, from many sources, in order that Canada may be able to carry on her part in this great struggle for civilization. I have nothing further to say regarding the war. That is my policy—it is the policy of my colleagues—it is the policy of, I believe, ninety-nine out of a hundred people of Canada. Canada must go on and must do her duty, and we cannot do that in any other way except by raising the money.

We have another financial problem to face nearer home. Owing to the exigencies of the war, we are importing from the United States probably at least three hundred and fifty millions of dollars more than we are exporting to them. How are we to send that money across to New York? Some scheme must be devised; and there again I have sufficient faith in the financial institutions of Canada to realize that a scheme will be devised by which we will be able to pay that three hundred and fifty millions of dollars—our adverse balance of trade.

Now, I said we had some problems other than trade problems. We have a railway problem staring us in the face. We have, first, the Canadian Pacific Railway, which I think is the most wonderful transportation system in the world, managed so well that it has been able to pay its way, pay its dividends and, it is said, put away a very snug amount each year. We have the Grand Trunk Railway System, also well managed, considering the fact that the actual management for many

years was too far removed from the scene of activities, but well managed—a company which up to three or four years ago was able to pay its way, pay dividends upon its bonds or debenture stock, pay dividends at least upon its first and second preference, and to some extent the third preference stock. The Grand Trunk has been loaded up by the Grand Trunk Pacific in the west, with interest liabilities about seven million dollars. This the Grand Trunk Railway cannot pay and still pay the interest upon its bonds or dividends to its shareholders; and therefore the Grand Trunk System is face to face with a very serious proposition. If they are able to pay the interest liabilities on the amounts which they have guaranteed for the Grand Trunk Pacific, they not only cannot pay dividends to the stockholders, but they cannot pay the interest upon their debenture stock, and the question is: what is going to be done about it? I am not here as a member of the Government. I am trying to point out to you the real condition of affairs. I am not going into the question of whether this was wise or unwise, except to say that the Grand Trunk Railway got practically what they asked for in 1903. They asked for Western connections and they have them. They did not want the transcontinental from Winnipeg east and they did not get that. Then the Government of Canada has the Canadian Northern Railway Company. Possibly, I may be able to say in Montreal what I am not able to say in Toronto. We have the Canadian Northern owned by the Government of Canada, and it is a white elephant on their hands, and there must be an enormous amount of money raised for betterments, and also I am afraid we will have to pay something over betterments in order to keep it going. Then there is the National Transcontinental from Winnipeg to Moncton, a splendid railway but not a revenue producer. The Government owns that. Then we have the great Intercolonial Railway System of Canada, which always has been up to the present time a political machine, and therefore very, very badly managed. I do not think it would be wise if I were to attempt to make any extended remarks as to my views as to the ability of the Government to operate a railway, but I think I will take the liberty of saying that up to the present time no government has ever succeeded

in operating a railway in Canada. It may be that the present Government possesses more ability than its predecessors have possessed and we may be able to do what our predecessors have failed to do; but it is a fact that up to the present time government operation of railways has been one of the most tragic failures this country has ever seen. I have not indicated any policies. I have tried to point out to you something of the railway problems of Canada, and I tell you they are problems which the business people of Canada ought to face, and I wish the business people of Canada would take a more lively interest in them. They are real problems—outside of the war the greatest which Canada has to face at the present time.

Another problem we have, of minor importance, is the construction of ships. If the allied nations to-day are suffering, if they are in danger of defeat—and I do not say they are—it is because of the lack of sufficient tonnage to ferry soldiers, supplies and food of all kinds across the Atlantic Ocean. This government has decided that it is our paramount duty to start building ships in Canada, and we will probably spend twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars during the coming year, and increase it next year. While I believe it will cost us a large amount per ton, we must have them. There are times, with nations as with individuals, when necessity drives us to do things which we would not do as a business proposition if left to ourselves. That is the condition we are in to-day. We have to have ships—we are compelled to have ships, and it is the paramount duty of Canada to go ahead and spend some of our money in building ships. Not only do I hope that this will mark the introduction of a great industry into Canada, but that our steel manufacturers will have sufficient ability, energy and business acumen to see that they so arrange things that those plates will be rolled in Canada and not imported from foreign countries. This is the time for the Dominion Steel Corporation to think very, very seriously about this matter. We have the iron in Canada, and ship-building is one of the problems which we have to face.

We have another problem to face, and that is not in the immediate future, but as soon as the war is over, and that is: what are we going to do towards paying the interest or a portion

of the principal on this enormous debt which has been rolled up during the last three years. We have borrowed from the people and the interest, at least, must be paid. It is going to be a very serious consideration for the people of Canada so to arrange the finances of the country and the business of the country in future, that this debt can be paid. Do you realize that, should this war close down a year from now, and I am afraid that is the earliest moment we can look for peace, the expenditure of Canada yearly from that time forward will be at least twice what it was in the year 1914? Where we raised one hundred and fifty or one hundred and seventy-five millions of dollars before the war, we can make up our minds that we must raise three hundred millions of dollars year by year after the war is over with. There has been coming into this country three to five hundred millions of dollars a year of foreign money. We have been receiving \$2.00 for our wheat for the last year, whereas probably sixty or seventy-five cents might be a fair price after the war. We have been receiving probably three or four millions of dollars in excess of what the normal receipts would be, during the last three years, from our agricultural products. The extra prices we have been receiving from our animal produce, our mineral products, our agricultural products, I am safe in saying, would aggregate close on to a billion dollars a year in excess of what we would receive under normal conditions. Having that billion of dollars of extra money, our people are able to import twice as much as they did before the war. In fact, this year our total imports will be over a billion dollars, and of course that means revenue, because the more we import the more customs duty we must pay. We have lost a little money by the inauguration of a policy which I hope is popular in Montreal. We call it prohibition in Ottawa. We lost probably twenty millions of dollars from that, but we make it up by the customs duties, as we are getting in very much larger amounts of money from customs duties now than we did before and than we will after the war is over. I say to you that as soon as this war is over with there will be a very great reduction in imports, and that will mean a great reduction in our revenues; but still that three hundred million dollars must be raised, and it is not for me to say how it is going to be raised. I certainly do not intend to talk

tariffs to you to-day. I should have a storm around my head, so I am going to keep away from that. I am going to say that I know of only one source of revenue in Canada, and that is by asking the men who have the money to contribute a portion by way of Income Tax, and to be serious about it. We have to face the situation and we must steel ourselves to face the conditions. We must realize that the money must be forthcoming. I think everybody will admit that there is no more to be taken by way of customs tax, because I think the tax is as high as anybody would wish to see it. If that be true, there is no way in the world of getting this money except by some system of direct taxation. I wish the people of Canada as a whole would give a little more attention to these great economic problems. There are other things of prime importance in connection with the Government besides getting somebody appointed to the job of lighthouse-keeper down in the Maritime Provinces, and if I could succeed in directing people's minds along these broader channels I should feel that I had done some service. I know this remark does not apply to the people I am addressing this afternoon. You are thinking these matters over, but it is wonderful to what a small degree the ordinary farmer and merchant and laborer in Canada ever thinks about these great problems. They are here upon us and we must face them.

I have no fear as to the future. Canada possesses such enormous quantities of natural products, of natural wealth, which only needs wise exploitation and wise management, that these problems will be solved. Canada possesses sufficient potential wealth to raise all the money we want, to pay interest on our debts and yet develop the country. I think of the enormous quantity of coal consumed in the city of Montreal for manufacturing purposes and such things, and then I think that within thirty or forty miles of you, between here and Prescott, on the St. Lawrence River, you have enough power to drive every machine in the city and probably heat the city besides. This alone helps you to realize what the possibilities of this country are. Think of the iron and steel resources, the mountains of coal in the maritime provinces, the great prairies in the province of Alberta yearning for people to fill them up, and farther west the great granaries of the world!

How can a man be pessimistic in Canada? But it requires courage; it requires wise administrative judgment, and I believe the people of Canada possess the judgment and the administrative power, and they possess the courage to face these conditions, this state of affairs. While our debt will be great, and our individual responsibility heavy, still the people of Canada will rise to the emergency. We will meet these liabilities as they come, and we shall prosper, and become, I am convinced, one of the greatest nations in the world in the next thirty or forty years.

(February 26, 1918)

## THE SOUL OF FRANCE

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By ABBÉ PATRICE FLYNN

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I CONSIDER it a great honor and a great privilege to have been invited to say a few words here on the subject of my experiences, military and religious, at the French front. I have been in the United States for eight or nine months. I thought I should be going back to the front, where I long to be, without coming to Canada. But what would my boys say over there, when I met them again? They would say: "Father Chaplain, you have been a long time away," and as Frenchmen are very polite they would say: "we have missed you very much. Where have you been all this time"? I would say: "I have been in America." And they would say: "Oh, surely you have been to Canada?" and if I had to say that I had not been to Canada, our French soldiers would have been so disappointed. Our French soldiers, from general to private, not only know but they admire, they love the Canadian soldier. They love them for their bravery, for their pluck, and they know everything about them. My soldiers, they know the story of the battles of Flanders and Northern France, and they know the strong friendship of the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire for France. Will you allow me, gentlemen of the Canadian Club, representatives of the Dominion of Canada, to give them a message from you, to tell them that you stand by their side, that you know them, that you praise them, that you think of them? And in the name of France may I tell you how thankful, how grateful we are to Canada for the wonderful help Canada has given to us already, and will yet give to us for the final and fateful blow to tyranny and militarism?

I have come, however, to talk of France, of my dearly beloved country, because I am French and French to the backbone, and proud of it. I bring you from France a message of hope; no, more than that, a message of victory, the promise and the certainty of victory. The chaplain in France knows the general as well as the private soldier. He knows the spirit of the French army and of the French nation. Never has the morale of the French army been higher, been as high as it is now. I read sometimes in papers that the morale of the French nation is shaking. They do not know the French soul; but I know it and I can tell you that we have the promise and the certainty of victory in the spirit of the French nation. I have been told that money will win this war. Yes, I admit it. Money is necessary to win a war. Give us money, or rather lend us money—we will give it back. I have been told that technical efficiency, guns and shells and munitions, will win this war. True, true, but that would not be enough. You know, all of you who are listening to me now, that they are of no avail if it were not for the moral virtues of the unknown man in the trenches, that man who has patriotism and resignation, who knows his duty, and who is saving not only his home but saving France and the world. He is now protecting us all. If it were not for the spirit of the French soldier and the French nation, neither money nor technical efficiency, nor munitions nor shells would be enough. Is that not true? I know it is.

I should like to evoke before you, in a few words, the soul of France. How difficult it is for me, for I am handicapped in English, you know. Still I will try, and what I cannot say you will guess. It is one of the blessings of this war, to have revealed to the world the beauty, the immortal features of the French soul. It was not known, sometimes it had been calumniated all over the world; and now this war has brought into wonderful relief and light its immortal features. One of these is its unity. Before the war we were divided. We are an old nation, you know. You are a young nation. May I say that without offence? You have all the qualities and beauties of youth. We are an old, old nation, and we have old quarrels. We had Republicans and Monarchists. We had socialists and radicals. We had clericals and anti-clericals. Germany knew that we were divided. She felt sure—they are always sure of

everything—that on the day of the declaration of war we would fight among ourselves. I was in Paris on the day of the declaration of war. I shall never forget it all my life. We no longer were Republicans or Monarchists, we were no longer socialists or radicals, we were no longer clericals or anti-clericals; it was a sacred union of the whole nation, it was one man standing up to face an invader. What is it that keeps the morale of the French soldier at the front but the moral virtues of those at the back, the mothers, the wives, the sisters, the sweethearts, who keep up the morale of the soldier? The women of France! They are wonderful. What they have done to keep up the morale of the nation will never be known. They have taken the places of men, they have done the work of men. I have seen French women driving the plow in the fields. I have seen French women dragging the plow, three harnessed to the plow and one pushing at the back, and they say: "We are doing our bit. We are fighting for our men at the front."

Her union with all the Allies, is it not wonderful? Don't you feel, I feel it so well, that this war has brought us all so close together? We feel a communion, a close contact. This is neither an American war, nor a French war, nor a British war. We are all in the war for justice, for freedom, for right against might.

Another feature which I would like to express is the clearness of the French soul. We are proud of the clearness of our philosophy, the clearness of our literature, of our art. If you have ever had to dig, as I had to dig when I was at the French Sorbonne many years ago, into German philosophy, you will know how clear it is. It is not the clearest of all. French philosophy and literature and art are really the very expressions of clearness. In this war we know what we are fighting for; I mean that even the privates and the illiterate peasants in the trenches, as well as the statesmen and generals, know what we are fighting for. I would never think of telling my soldiers the causes and the object of this war. They would look at me—they have a way, an inimitable way of looking at one, those French soldiers, and they would say: "What is the matter with you, father? What are you going to teach us? We know it all right." All the French soldiers, all the French

nation, have a clearness of purpose in this war. We are in for a war of justice. We are not in for a war of conquest, not for a war of annexation. I think I see in your eyes that you are thinking of Alsace and Lorraine. We are not going to annex Alsace and Lorraine. To annex a thing means to take it from somebody else whose property it is. An annexation of that kind was done in '71. The Chancellor has said that Alsace and Lorraine were German and must be German forever. In French I should find a very polite expression to say that he was mistaken. Von Hertling knows better than I do that Alsace-Lorraine was given in 1648 not by Germany but by Austria to France. I know Austria is crushed under the heel of Germany, but that is no reason to say that Germany was the owner of Alsace-Lorraine. Germany has no claim and never had any claim on Alsace-Lorraine. At the time Alsace-Lorraine was given to France, Prussia was a very small thing indeed. That is the truth for every French soldier in the army. We consider Alsace-Lorraine invaded territory, just as northern France has been invaded for two years. Alsace-Lorraine has been invaded forty or fifty years. Alsace-Lorraine was French, is French and shall be French forever.

The creative power of the French nation has been revealed wonderfully in this war. We are sometimes slow in France, but we are always in time. We had nothing ready. It is the proof, if proof were needed, that we never wanted the war. We had to create and improvise everything. The Parisian lady—I am Parisian born, so you will excuse me if I speak only of the Parisian—has a wonderful improvising and creating power. Her husband comes from the office in the evening, and says: "By the way, dear, I have invited three or four friends, do you mind?" After a slight hesitation she says: "No, I do not mind. It is all right; it is all right." She goes down to the kitchen, looks around, gives orders, sees after the menu. She goes up to the dining-room, sees that everything is all right, throws a few flowers on the table—it is not merely that she puts flowers on the table, there is a way, you know—goes up to her dressing-room and puts on anything at all—it is not what she puts on, but the way she puts it on—and then she goes down and welcomes her guests and you would think that she has been expecting them all day. That is the Pari-

sian lady of the house. And then when they are off, the husband says: "Oh, dear, I am so glad. I was anxious. I was afraid you might not be ready." "Ready," she says, "oh, dear, I am always ready," and she is always ready, and France is always ready, and she has shown it in this war by her improvising and creating power. I am not here to discuss or argue anything, but just to give you my experiences, so I can tell you a personal incident. A few weeks before the war, four or five weeks before the war, I was taking my annual vacation in the most wonderful spot in all France,—you will all come to France after the war—I was in Brittany, sailing in a yacht one day with a member of the French Foreign Office, who had been appointed to go with Poincaré to St. Petersburg a few weeks later on a visit to the Czar. There was a warship in port at that time and he had visited it, and he said to me: "Isn't it a shame that we are wasting such money on warships, on armaments, on ammunition? We do not want to wage war. We won't make war. We are not prepared for it, and I tell you confidentially that there will be no war, there cannot be any war. There is not a man in the world mad enough to drive us all into the catastrophe of war."

That was said to me by a member of the French Foreign Office, four or five weeks before the war; and just that many weeks later there was a man mad enough in the world to drive us all into the catastrophe of war. We were not prepared for it. We had to improvise everything, even that wonderful retreat to the Marne. That was the improvisation of genius, and Joffre is a man of genius. We expected the Germans on the Eastern frontier. We did not think they would come through Belgium, we did not know what a "scrap of paper" was. They came through Belgium and we had two days to improvise in. Joffre might have tried to wage a battle on the Somme, and we should have been crushed; but he had the genius and courage to give up the whole of the north of France, bringing his armies down towards Paris and Verdun, two strong positions on which to bend like a steel spring for the offensive, and when he was ready and when he felt that he could take the opportunity he struck. Instead of entering Paris, von Kluck marched south-east. We may never know why. I suppose perhaps according to the principles of German

strategy the army must be crushed before you enter the capital—perhaps because the Crown Prince was expected to enter first. We all know that the entry into Paris and the parade in Paris was prepared in the minutest detail. But von Kluck marched southeast. Joffre said to his generals—and I saw the order of the day—"concentrate all our efforts on the right German wing." He threw the army between Paris and Mons—it was a small army of course. von Kluck saw his mistake too late. Then the governor of Paris threw out of Paris sixty or eighty thousand soldiers to reinforce those already in the field, and Joffre sent out his order of the day, the order of duty. He said: "There is no falling backwards now. Any troops who are unable to drive the enemy back shall stand where they are and die where they are." Verdun was an improvisation, too. I know Verdun so well. We never thought the enemy, on the 21st of February, in the middle of winter, would try to rush on Verdun. We thought we should have time to bring up reinforcements. We were wrong, but the creative power of France came in there and saved Verdun and the world. You know the watchword of the army at Verdun? "They shall not pass! They shall not pass!" And they did not pass.

Another feature of the French soul is the moral virtues of the soldier. If I were in the trenches now with my boys I would not think of preaching to them on duty, for instance, on patriotism, on the flag. No, it is useless. What I do in the trenches is to laugh and crack jokes with them and tell them not to worry and they don't worry. They are splendid men. I know them and I loved them before the war. Now I must say I admire them. I admire my boys. Of course they grumble at times, but a soldier must grumble now and then, but when the time comes for the attack I see their faces brighten up, they smile, and then they are ready for anything and they crack jokes. When shells fall in the trenches, they say: "Father, send a message to Fritz. Call them up on the telephone and tell them that they are shelling our very trenches and we cannot sleep." And they crack jokes of all kinds. I am not going to tell you of those jokes, they are very poor jokes sometimes, but they help to keep up the morale of the soldiers. The officers, too, keep up the morale of the soldiers

very well. You know some of those very French gestures of the French officers? Before the attack in my division at Verdun, it is the custom, a sort of sport, for the officers to distribute among them cigars, short cigars, and dry cigars, all of the same size. Ten seconds before the attack, before going over the top all cigars are lighted at the same moment and they begin to smoke, so they go over the top and they smoke on. If a man is nervous he puffs at his cigar and the man who has smoked his cigar first must pay the next dinner for the officers, and it must be a good dinner. That is very French.

Another feature of the French soul that is for us a promise of victory is its chivalrous and gentle spirit. We love France but do not want to put her above all nations. Our spirit has nothing to do with the motto of another nation: "Germany above all." It is this: "Every man has two countries. His own first, and France next." You are Canadians. Be Canadian by all means. You have a country and you have the love of your country. But after your country won't you think of France? Won't you praise France? Won't you love France? That is what I call the gentle and generous spirit of the French nation. And we are chivalrous, too. We love fair play. The French soldier wants fair play. When the game is over, and he has prisoners, he won't do any harm to a prisoner. I have seen hundreds and thousands of German prisoners. It is a very cheerful sight, I must say. I have never seen a German prisoner ill-treated. Never! Before the battle the French soldiers come up to me and they say: "If we take German prisoners we will do . . . well, all things to them." I say: "That is all right, you won't do it," and when the poor devils come flocking in I say to my boys: "Treat them as you would like to be treated on the other side. You are men, you are Christians, treat them as men and as Christians. Go and fetch water and bread." And then they bring in the bread, and they say to the German prisoners: "Is not that bread good?" We do not get on so well with the German officers, I must say. One day a German officer was taken prisoner. He was slightly wounded and we asked him to get into an ambulance car. He straightened up—our soldiers say that every German officer has three umbrellas up his back to

keep him straight—and he refused. We insisted very politely that he step up into the car, but again he refused, and this was his reason. In that car there was a private soldier, and he said: "I am an officer and I cannot ride in the same car as a private." They kicked him into the car and he deserved it.

Another feature of the French soul is its heroism. I could tell you so many instances I have seen. I was present at one very important attack, which was scheduled to take place at eight o'clock in the morning. For weeks we had been preparing for it, and on the morning it was to take place a mist enveloped everything. I was afraid that perhaps our boys would not find their way in the fog, and I knew it was too late to counter the order. At eight o'clock, promptly, I saw my boys going over the top, marching as if they were on parade, the officers with their watches in their hands, so as to time the thing properly, not to go too quickly, not to run, and not to reach the spot before time. And then the mist suddenly dissolved and the sun came out and shone gloriously upon my boys, going, going, and then storming the enemy's position in front of me. They took it and held it, which is more difficult. It was the most inspiring thing I ever saw, and I heard shouted on every side: "They shall not pass; they shall not pass," and they did not pass. Do not be afraid for that drive on the Western front. We are prepared for it. They shall not pass!

Last of all, there is a feature which has been brought wonderfully to light in this war, in the French army and the French nation. That is the religious spirit. If I say it, it is not because I am a priest. I am speaking as a man here, and I must say that is the truth. There has been a splendid revival of faith in the French nation, and believe me, in the presence of death, in the presence of danger, faith and religion and consolation are needed at the front. Send chaplains there, for the sake of the morale of the soldiers. I should like to call your attention to the special characteristics of that religious revival at the front. It is a sacred union of all the religions, of all creeds, of all communities at the front. We want it to last. I lived over there with a Protestant chaplain and a Jewish Rabbi and we got on most intimate terms of friendship with each other, and sometimes we teased each other. We

would say to the Jew, we would bow very low to him and say: "After you, dear and revered friend. You are the Old Testament. We are only the New Testament." At the front, I remember once a friend of mine, a Catholic chaplain, came to Verdun with a Protestant chaplain. We offered them our best hotel in Verdun, a small shed with straw, and they slept in the same shed a little distance apart. During the night a shell broke through the shed right between the two sleepers. Nobody was killed, still there was a sensation. The Catholic said to the Protestant: "My dear friend. Isn't it a good thing we did not sleep too close together? Isn't it a good thing there is some slight difference of opinion between us?" And then, you know the story, and it is very touching, of that Jewish Rabbi who happened in a certain battle to come behind a Catholic chaplain who was holding to the lips of a dying Catholic soldier the cross. A shell came and struck the Catholic chaplain dead. The Jewish Rabbi came up and took the cross from the hands of the dying Catholic chaplain and pressed it to the lips of the soldier, and helped the Catholic soldier to die in his faith.

We are so thankful, I must repeat it in the name of France, for the help you are giving to France. Not that we are bled white. We have, let me tell you—and this is an official figure—better equipped, with supplies of every kind, not only as many men as we had at the beginning of the war, but over one million men more than we had at the beginning of the war. So let us, all Canadians, all the British Empire and France and all the Allies, "let us then be up and doing, with a heart for any fate. Still achieving, still pursuing, learn to labor and to wait." And let us all "Act, act, in the living present, strong within, and God o'erhead." That will be the terms of victory for France and for the Allies and for the world.

When I was a student at Paris University, many years ago, I had a professor of eloquence who insisted upon three principles for the unfortunate students who attended his lectures. The first was:—If you are asked to stand up after a luncheon, have something to say. (One of our generals at Verdun used to say that a man who had been at Verdun would have something to speak of all his life). The second was:—

Stand up, say it as clearly and briefly as you can. (I could not say it clearly because I cannot speak English. I could not say it briefly because my heart is full). The third principle is the most important of all—he used to say: “If you forget the first two, the third principle will make up for them.” It was:—After you have said what you have to say sit down, and for God’s sake, keep quiet.

(*March 4th, 1918*)

## THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

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By PHILIP WHITWELL WILSON

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I DESIRE in the very first words to say how grateful we have always been and always shall be to you for the splendid spontaneity with which you leapt with us into the breach against Germany. In future it cannot but be that the old world with its prejudices, with its heritage of tyranny, must take more frequent counsel with the new world, with its liberties and its ideals. It may be that an elected Parliament, representative of the whole British Empire, is a somewhat difficult body to arrange. One reason against it would be the magnitude of the distance between the constituencies. Another reason would be the variety of races among those who vote, and there would be the further reason that many of our greatest and most difficult problems are not settled most easily by public debate or by a vote in the division lobby. But I do think that we ought to have, and have quickly, an Imperial deliberative council, based on the lines of our cabinets in London and your cabinet here, in which each Dominion would be worthily represented, and would deal not only with those great fiscal questions which must come up, and which I am bound to confess are calculated to provoke controversy, but with the great ultimate issues which determine the peace and war of the world. The proceedings of such a council if it met in London—if you are still going to regard London as the most convenient meeting place of the Empire, though I admit it is challenged by Montreal—would I think be confidential; but I do think the time has come when the United Kingdom should hear the voice of the Dominions more frequently than it does at present. We have a House of Lords. Some of us have done what we could to demolish that ancient assemblage.

Even those who, like myself, have spent more breath than I like to think of in that task, must admit that the aristocracy of England to-day have done their fair share for the Empire, and we cannot handle even the House of Lords, most of whom have brothers and sons and relations in this conflict, quite so roughly even in our rhetoric as we used to do. If we can in some way remove the House of Lords from conflict with the more democratic elements in the old country, it would seem to me to be not unreasonable that this great ancient assemblage should become the sounding board for public opinion drawn from the whole Empire, so that we may in all times and in all crises have in our country an authoritative expression from you as to what you feel to be the right policy to be pursued.

We are now confronted by one of the supreme crises in the history of the world. I am here to tell you that Great Britain still stands solid as a rock in that struggle. Your President has intimated that I come of Quaker ancestry. I have always, I hope, been an upholder of the public peace. I am a strong liberal, even a radical, some would say a socialist; but I am here to tell you that out of the forty millions of people in the United Kingdom there are not, all told, ten thousand conscientious objectors. And whereas the paper that I represent has been for long associated with a great Quaker family, the family of Mr. George Cadbury, his own son, born and bred in a Quaker home, has even brought down a German Zeppelin in the North Sea. We have our controversies. Perhaps you do not have such controversies here. British Governments may change. I do not say they will, but you know that change is part of our political system. Let me tell you plainly that even if Governments change in our country it does not mean a change of resolution. I will mention three names of statesmen who may, perhaps, be a little suspected among you, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Henderson and Lord Lansdowne. Every one of those three men has lost a son in the war, and not one of them—whether we agree with their policy or not, or rather whether we agree with their methods, because this is all that is at stake—would consent to a surrender of the war aims for which their own flesh and blood died.

Many of you who have been in mines will be aware that the workers down below ground have a habit of grunting at

every stroke they deliver, and the harder they grunt the more vigorous is the stroke. Labor in England is grunting, but that means that labor is putting forth tremendous efforts. I cannot let any of you go away under the impression that our working men in England are not doing their duty. With half their brothers gone to the war, even before we applied compulsion, their output of munitions and other essentials is greater than the total industrial output of Great Britain before the war. They have been wonderfully helped by the women. Two and a half million of our British girls, Countess on the one side and her lady's maid on the other, have gone into these munition factories. In numbers of cases they are working among chemicals and poisons which have the effect of destroying forever and in a short time that beauty of complexion of which we are all proud in England, and which is so much to a woman. No more honored figure exists in the British Empire to-day than the humble girl whose face has turned yellow in this war; and if she is called the canary girl, as she is, that means that when she is taken through the streets of London, in our Lord Mayor's procession, the entire crowd stands in awed admiration at her heroism.

I would like to say one word for the capitalist. I want to tell you that he is standing things on the whole very well. Before the war about one-twelfth of our total national income from rents and profits and wages and so on was paid in taxation. One-twelfth. It has now gone up to one-fourth. At the date of the battle of Waterloo, we went up to one-third of our national income rather than give in. We are ready to go higher than that to-day. Shipping, practically the whole of it, has been taken over by the Government in one way or another, at blue book rates, and blue book rates are to be defined as rates—well, which make the ship-owner look blue. Our railroads have been communised, our mines absorbed. They not only pay eighty per cent. of excess profits, but in the case of the coal mines, in order to keep the whole of the pits at work, those companies which would be charged excess profits pay an extra fifteen per cent. levy in order to help their weaker brethren. This means that there are no excess profits in the case of mines at all. Our soldiers are all well fed, your soldiers are all well fed, and so they ought to be. Munition

workers are well fed. The shortage of food falls most heavily upon the wives and families that have to be kept going. I know a home in England which I have left, with a wife and five little children who have been under the German aeroplanes a score of times, half a dozen times since I left them, without any protection; and in that home, under that strain, the mother and wife had to stand in a queue and get three pounds of meat for seven days for eight people; and she wrote about it with a splendid cheerfulness which was worthy of her American birth and her British marriage.

I would like to say to you what I have said to our American friends across the border. There is not a pound of food goes into Britain which has not been fairly shared with France and Italy. France and Italy had the preference over us in the autumn,—and we gave it willingly—although it meant that when the ports were locked in ice, we have had ourselves to go short. But I do think that one fact should draw us closer to our American friends. It is this, that when the emergency came, at one day's notice they closed down their whole industries which were not absolutely essential, for nearly a week, in order to send the food ships through to your friends and my friends across the water. We can only stand firm in England if you stand firm with us, and of that there can be no doubt after the way in which you have applied and accepted your recent military proposals. I could only wish that Ireland shared your enthusiasm. In view of what von Hertling has said of Ireland, will you permit me to mention two or three facts. First of all, Britain is paying all Ireland's Old Age Pensions. We are financing her land purchase, we impose upon her no compulsory military service, and we purchase from her all the food she can produce at her own prices. Never has Ireland been so prosperous, yet in a political sense seldom has she been so discontented. That seems to show that mere material progress is not enough, that self-government for Ireland has become an international necessity. All statesmen in our country and in yours approve of that great step; but you will say, then why don't you do it? I am certain you will agree with me in this—however good a thing may be, it is much the best that it be applied with the free, generous consent of all concerned. I do wish indeed that the fine, vigorous

population of Northeast Ulster, so similar in many respects to the population which has made of Canada one of the greatest countries in the world, could see their way to throw their energies right in with the rest of Ireland and make of her a splendid country under the Union Jack. I will say no more about that subject except this,—I believe that the patience of British statesmanship during the last two or three years will be justified by the result in the long run, and in the meantime any suggestion that there is to-day oppression of Ireland, is simply a characteristic slander from a quarter where only slanders are expected.

I would like to say one word, indeed I must say one word, on the United States and the war. I think we were all impressed at the wonderful judicial faculty with which our neighbors weighed up this issue. They heard both sides. I am certain that the counsel for the other side well earned their fee. Then the jury retired and considered a verdict on which the President pronounced sentence. I am sure you have realized what a momentous issue has arisen for the United States. She has had three crises in her history. In the first she declared her independence. In the second she vindicated her unity. And now she has—some of us may think with great deliberation—yet she has definitely undertaken her supreme obligation for justice among the rest of mankind. George Washington was the man who brought into that country the traditions of the past. Abraham Lincoln was the man who was a product of his own generation in his humor, his sympathy, all that personality which everyone of us love. President Wilson—his vision is towards the future. He is the great idealist of American politics. It may be that their preparations have been delayed by winter, which no one can control, possibly by the complexity of the problem which they have to face. But I am here to say that those preparations are now gathering a tremendous momentum and they will have an enormous effect upon the future of the war and of the world. Those preparations will be taken into careful consideration by our enemy. It is not true that these four years of sacrifice have resulted in nothing. We know our own difficulties. Do not let us forget the growing difficulties which confront those to whom we are the foes. There is great food

shortage in Germany. Her debt is piling up, practically unsecured, with no revenue with which to meet the charges of it. Her casualties are numbered by the million. She has lost all her Imperial hopes outside Europe and the immediate part of Asia. She is to-day fighting a tremendous battle with her back to the wall and with very uncertain allies. Has it ever occurred to you that a German victory would mean the subjugation of Austria, the vassalage of the Austrian crown? That is strong argument for an endeavor, if possible, to isolate Germany in this most critical year; but I am bound to point out that if our great neighbor, led by her President, pursues its notable policy of ever-increasing military pressure upon Germany, coupled by constant appeals to the public opinion of Austria, you must not misunderstand the position. It is all part of the same war. It is all an endeavor not merely to beat the bodies of our enemies but to capture their minds; and without the military pressure, the diplomacy, however open, however sincere, however direct it may be, would be without effect.

There is this great issue before the world to-day, that we cannot go on under those conditions which have produced this catastrophe. From my heart I hope there will be a League of Nations. The British Empire stands out as the most successful League of Nations in the history of the world. I would like to have in that League of Nations any country which will deal fairly with its neighbors and share with us the freedom and liberty which we enjoy. But if there is to be a League of Nations, we must exclude from that League any nation which is unworthy to be introduced into it, because it prepares for the assassination and murder of its neighbors. We cannot allow the fruits of commerce in which we are interested to be transformed into instruments of destruction. I do not say for a moment that I would be for excluding Germany and Austria from the League of Nations; yet at whatever ultimate time they may come in, they must come in on our conditions, and it must be made perfectly plain that the splendid hospitality which we gave to Germany in your country, in our country, in Australia, must never again be abused as our hospitality has been abused in the past. By all means let it be a League of Peace. But it must be a League of

Righteousness first, and you can hope for no peace until righteousness is vindicated. A League of Peace is not quite enough. It must be a League of Service. Peace is the mere refraining from war. Service is the building up of a new time, and what building has to be done! Think of France, crippled in a great cause, having lost its muscle and its men. We of British stock now share the responsibility for the defense of Paris itself. What can we do for her after the war which would be too much to show our gratitude to her?

May I tell you in conclusion an anecdote? There were two French soldiers belonging to the Jewish faith, lying in Paris wounded almost to death, and they were attended by Sisters of Mercy belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Passover was coming round, and these two men wanted to observe the feast with unleavened bread. It was important to them for their conscience's sake. They did not know how to get the bread. You know what a bitter quarrel there has been throughout history between men of the Jewish faith and those of the Roman Catholic faith. Yet the Catholic Sisters of Mercy went into Paris, into the Jewish quarter, and they bought some of the unleavened bread and brought it back to the two wounded French soldiers and gave it to them. When the men got well they said to themselves, what can we do to show our gratitude for this great act? And they offered money. But the Sisters of Mercy said: "No money would pay for what we have done," so the men went out and each one bought all the flowers he could afford to buy, and brought them back to these nuns. And the flowers were put upon the altar at the foot of that symbol which unites Christendom.

The League of Nations, of righteousness, of peace and of service will be effective in the world, if after all this fearful catastrophe, bloodshed and horror, we can, having vindicated justice and destroyed the tyranny which has reared itself against us, turn back in reverence to the Prince of Peace whom the nations have forgotten.

(March 8, 1918)

## JAPAN AND ITS PLACE IN THE ORIENT

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By DR. C. J. L. BATES

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I APPRECIATE the opportunity of speaking to Canadian Clubs in different parts of Canada concerning Japan and far Eastern conditions. Everywhere there is an increasing interest in the life of the teeming millions of people who live on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. I hope you will not feel that I am under-estimating your knowledge of Far Eastern conditions if I go over certain geographical and other facts with which you are very likely familiar. I presume you are aware of the fact that there are 959 millions of people living in Asia. That is more than twice the number of people there are in all of Europe, and more than four and a half times as many people as there are in all of North and South America. The significant thing is that these people to-day are awakening to a consciousness of the position in which they have been living for centuries; awakening to a discontent with these conditions, and putting forth demands for changes in many, many ways that will lead to an amelioration.

The outstanding fact is that these 959 millions of people in Asia are required to content themselves with one-fifth of the territory that is held by 600 million whites. This is the outstanding and the most difficult fact with which future statesmanship has to deal. One of the fundamental weaknesses in all the considerations that have been made of the question of permanent peace has been the reluctance of any responsible statesman in the world to take up seriously the question of the geographical change. Geographical *status quo*, that has been the watchword. The map of the world must remain unchanged; that is the assumption. We ourselves have typified this point of view in a picture, which I think was painted at the time of the Boer War, which shows a bulldog

standing upon the flag, and underneath the words: "What we have, we hold." Now, I am not criticising these things at all. I am merely trying to get you into the position of some of these other peoples who are in a different condition and look at it from the other end; because whether we like it or not, we are being forced, and very rapidly forced, to see things from their point of view.

The end of the nineteenth century saw the European white man in practical control of the entire surface of the world, with the exception of Japan and China; and as a matter of fact the control of China indirectly was to a great extent in his hands, through territorial concessions, and concessions in regard to the law of tariffs, etc. The situation as we see it to-day, just eighteen years after the opening of this twentieth century, is yet far from being solved in the Far East. The European races are realizing that they are being challenged in their position, and that it is absolutely impossible to hold things as they have been, for changes are inevitable. We must adjust ourselves first of all to this fact and endeavor to work out these changes in the best possible way. These changes are coming very markedly in all the three great nations of the Eastern world: in India, in China, and in Japan. There are going on in India movements, largely subterranean, perhaps, but movements which must be recognized or they will become volcanic in the very near future. There is a tremendous discontent with existing conditions. I do not mean that there is any widespread desire to throw off the present Government. I think that does not exist. I believe, and I have reason to believe, that there is a conviction among the leading Indian people that the British Government, all things considered, has done well by them, and that their best interests are in the maintenance of the British relation. For several years I took an Indian paper called the *Indian Social Reformer*, edited by an Indian gentleman, and I was very much interested in the expression he made therein of loyalty to the British Government, and the contrasts that he drew as between Germany as a militaristic Empire and the British Empire as a moral Empire. I believe this is the opinion of the best people, the leaders of India. Nevertheless, there is a restlessness, a desire for a larger share in the government of the country. There is

also a certain definite restlessness with commercial and economic conditions, an increasing demand that there should be real tariff reform in India, that the tariffs should be so constructed as to protect Indian industries against rival and competitive industries, which are pouring their products into India, and which have a depressing effect upon their economic conditions. There is also a restlessness, there are waves of discontent with the educational conditions. We cannot wonder at it when we recognize that there are only seven men out of every hundred in the peasant classes of India able to read and write, and there is only one woman in every one hundred and forty-four able to read and write. Consequently, these changes must come, and British statesmanship to-day is concerned and working at the problem, and we have no doubt it will be worked out. The leadership of India has on the whole been extremely wise and in good hands. I was interested the other day to hear from a gentleman who has spent a quarter of a century in Bombay the statement that in his judgment the government of India, all things considered, all the difficulties taken into account, with its hundred and more classes, as many castes and as many religions and races, was the best government in the world. That probably was an extreme way of putting it. He was making an address to an American audience gathered together in Japan, without realizing that there was anyone present who was not a citizen of the United States.

We, in Canada, need to realize that we have a relation to all these things. Perhaps we have felt that India is a long way off, that all we have to do is to protect ourselves against the immigration of Indians and that will solve the whole problem. Instead of solving it, it gives rise to other problems. A few weeks ago, at a conference which I attended down in Massachusetts, I met a young Indian gentleman, now a student in Harvard University and proceeding next year to Oxford, a gentleman who speaks English quite as well as any of us, and I may add is a sincere and devout Christian. He said to a group of Britishers, most of us Canadians, who had invited half a dozen Indians present to meet with us, "Gentlemen, I had one bitter experience. I was refused passage on a Canadian boat because I was an Indian, and it cost me a hundred dollars more and three weeks longer to reach America because

## *Japan and its Place in the Orient*

I was an Indian." I do not know any more about that, and I know that I am raising a very difficult question. The sociological questions that pertain to the movements of races have always caused the world trouble and anxiety. We are to-day at a time of one of the great awakenings, and we must meet these problems and deal with them. We cannot ignore them, or answer them at a moment's notice, or brush them aside; and even though we may dislike the handling of them they cannot possibly be ignored.

As to China, the movements which are taking place there are also tremendous in their significance. You are aware, no doubt, that there are four hundred millions of people in China—four hundred millions of people—twice as many people as in all of North and South America. Napoleon is reported to have said that when China would move she would move the world. China is moved and China is moving. How easily we do fool ourselves at times, even the greatest of us! You may be interested to know that in his book, "Problems in the Far East," written in 1896, Lord Curzon says that the idea that an Empire whose standard of civilization and political perfection is stationary, which after half a century of intercourse with ministers, missionaries and teachers regards all the things that they have striven to teach as worthless,—the idea that such an Empire is likely to falsify the whole course of its history, is opposed to all the lessons of political science. All of which goes to show that great men make great mistakes. For, since those words were written by Lord Curzon, China has done at least four things which are tremendous in their significance. In the first place she has abolished the use of opium, and it was not possible for her to do it until she got England's consent. In the second place she overthrew, with what was as near a bloodless revolution as the world has seen, the proudest monarchy of the ages, the old Manchu monarchy. In the third place she has unbound the feet of her women. For centuries little Chinese girls of three years of age had their feet bound with bandages, which were kept there until their little feet were so deformed that as they grew to womanhood it was impossible for them to walk out, except as though they were on stilts. Now the law has gone forth that women's feet should be unbound. Not all women's feet have been

unbound; there are still some women following the old custom, of course. Social customs and traditions die hard, but nevertheless millions and millions of women in China have been thus set free. A few weeks ago at a convention I attended down at Mount Holyoke I saw a sight which in China ten years ago even would have been regarded with social horror. Half a dozen Chinese women, beautiful girls, studying for Arts degrees at Mount Holyoke College were present. There were also present a number of young Chinese men, who were students at Yale. The young Chinese men and women were walking about, conversing as freely as our own boys and girls do here in Canada. This would seem to those who do not know the conditions in the East as probably a very small and not in the least remarkable thing; but for those who know the conditions in China a few years ago it marks one of the most significant changes that have taken place. In the fourth place the Chinese have cut off their queues. When the edict went forth, a barber was stationed at the gates of each city in China with orders to cut off the queues of those who were reluctant and so had not attended to the matter themselves. China has moved. Whatever anyone else may prophesy or say, China has moved and is still moving, moving politically, socially and economically; moving in such a way that is bound to have an effect upon the entire world. It is a most obvious thing to say that what affects one part of the world to-day greatly affects all parts. Nevertheless, we need to realize this thing, and realize it with a sense of responsibility whenever we ourselves undertake any action that may be of serious import.

In the midst of all this awakening, the great, outstanding example is Japan. Sixty-five years ago the President of the United States sent Commodore Perry with his black ship to Japan to demand of the Japanese that they open up after over two hundred and twenty years. They had been sealed for two hundred and twenty years, during which time it was a capital act for any Japanese to go out of Japan or any foreigner to come in. The year following Commodore Perry's expedition the first treaty of amity and of commerce and friendship between Japan and any foreign country was made, and Japan thereupon entered into the life of the world. The story is an extremely interesting one; as interesting as any novel could be,

the story of the awakening and the remarkable progress since. Japan at that time was looked upon as one of the least of the nations. She had a population at that time of thirty millions of people; now Japan proper, not including Korea and Formosa, has a population of fifty-four millions. That compared with China and India is a small thing, and we need to realize this when we think of the political relations as between these three countries. Japan is an extremely small nation territorially. Her fifty-four millions of Japanese live in territory only one-third the size of the Province of Ontario. There are only one hundred and thirty-six thousand square miles in Japan proper and I think there are some four hundred and eight thousand square miles in the Province of Ontario. If I were to compare it with Quebec the disparity would be still greater. How do you think these awakening Japanese feel in regard to the situation? When you have a glass of water filled to the brim and you put a little more in it, what happens? There is absolutely only one thing that is possible, and that is that it overflows, and all the laws of the Medes and Persians or the Americans and Canadians are not able to prevent that overflow. Someone vastly more powerful than any I have mentioned—old Mother Nature—is looking after that. Last year the population of Japan increased 680,000. This increase has been going on for the last ten years, an increase of over five hundred thousand a year, and the statesmen of Japan must give attention to this question. It is of vital importance to them. They cannot allow the question of immigration to be treated as a minor question. Twenty-five years ago, and, in fact, up to ten years ago, the train of immigration was very largely in this direction. Sixty years ago on the Hawaiian Islands there were one hundred and twenty thousand native Hawaiians; to-day there are not more than twenty-three thousand, a decrease of one hundred thousand. At that time there was not a single Japanese; to-day there are one hundred thousand. There are five hundred Japanese babies born every month in the Hawaiian Islands, a natural increase of six thousand Japanese a year under the American flag. In ten or twenty years there will be another hundred thousand Japanese there. This does not mean that the Japanese Government is lying awake at nights to plan means that will embarrass their relation with the United

States. The fact is the very contrary to that. The Japanese Government, ever since 1853, has gone out of its way repeatedly to cultivate the best possible relations with the United States and with the British Empire. That is one of the most fundamental principles of Japanese foreign policy, and if there were time I could point out to you, and I think prove to your complete satisfaction, that this is demonstrable by what has occurred repeatedly in Japanese foreign politics and in the treaties and alliances which they have made. Not only so, but there are some one hundred thousand Japanese in America. About ten years ago, as you will remember, a change came over the situation as it related to the Japanese, after the Russo-Japanese war. Up to that time the Japanese had been looked upon as dilettantes in art, and that sort of thing; but when the Japanese gave to the world the great steam roller, then the governments began to sit up and take notice, and to realize that something had come to pass in the world.

There are two sides to these stories of change, of course, and perhaps I could let you in a little on both sides if there were time, but this much is certain, a change did come. We in Canada, with a territory as large as Europe, and with seven millions of people in it, said to the Japanese, with a territory one-third as large as that of the Province of Ontario, and with a population of fifty-four millions of people, "You cannot come in here." And the United States, with another territory as large as Europe, said to the Japanese: "You cannot come in here." And they said it very openly, and a professor of a University in Japan who was visiting San Francisco, was pelted with stones and mud in that city. These things do not make for international amity, they do not help the relation of nations. The problem is great, and let us realize that the problem is great from the other end. Australia, with another territory as large as Europe, and with a paltry five millions of people sitting on the fringe of that continent, said again to Japan: "You cannot come in here." What was the result? It threw Japan back upon Asia. The direction the Japanese people themselves desired—and in countries of that kind you must distinguish between peoples and government—was this way; but our action threw them back upon Asia. Consequently the Japanese Government had then to re-study this

whole question, and that led to the developments which have taken place. That was not the only problem. There were others, but what we have in Japan to-day is not a government that is planning diabolical things, that is a menace to other peoples. Not by any means. We have an awakened people, an awakened people upon whom the lid was held down for centuries, but upon whom it can no longer be held down. It is being forced up. The consequence of all this is that whether we like it or not, or whether we approve of it or not, the leadership of the Orient for the generation in which you and I live is to be in the hands of Japan, and I think that all things considered it is for the good of the Orient that it should be so. This is so in the first place because Japan is the only country in Asia that has an efficient self-government to-day.

As I said the government of India is a good government, all things considered, the best government India could have at the present moment, but it is not a self-government. The government of the Philippines is a good government. The United States has given us in the government of the Philippines such an example of altruism in its relation with a foreign people as we can seldom find in the history of the world, but it is not a self-government. It is not proceeding out of the will and desire and consciousness of the people, and it does not enjoy the enthusiastic loyalty that a people show to a government of their own making. The government of China is to-day unsettled, and it is impossible to predict what it may be a few years hence. The government of Japan, centered as it is in an Emperor who is the legitimate successor of a dynasty which has ruled Japan unchallenged, in unbroken continuity for at least two thousand years, enjoys the enthusiastic loyalty of its people. Further, the government of Japan is backed up by the only force that of recent years has been very seriously respected among our own Western nations, and that is military force. Let us be frank with ourselves. That is the situation, and Japan is in possession of the only real army and navy in Asia. These are the facts, however much we like or dislike them. Furthermore, Japan industrially is destined to be the leader in the Far East. While individually the Chinese are better business men than the Japanese, yet because of the very careful and well-directed training they have had

for the last half a century in technical schools, and their experience at home and abroad, the Japanese are in a position to-day to take up the industrial opportunities that are being offered. Many of you gentlemen here are cultivating more and more intimate and close relations with the Japanese in different ways. In the last four years trade between Canada and Japan has increased from something over three millions to something over nine millions of dollars, and it is bound to continue right along in the future. This will lead us to cultivate the very best relations with the Japanese, and not only in this way but in a way more fundamental. Educationally Japan is the leader, and will continue to be the leader in the Far East. You are aware of the fact, no doubt, that Japan is the only country in Asia that has a public school system. Forty-seven years ago there was put into operation a compulsory school law which provided that every child between the ages of six and twelve years should be at school; and the government of Japan reported last year that over 98 per cent. of the children, both boys and girls, between those ages, were actually enrolled at school. Now, gentlemen, very few countries in the world can show such statistics, and my own intimate contact with the educational work in Japan has led me to see that those statistics are approximately correct. This educational system leads right up through all kinds of schools to a university that is equal in grade with the very best and highest standing institution of this kind in America. There are four of these in Japan. One result of her educational system is that Japan has attracted to her shores thousands of students from other countries. There are three thousand Chinese students studying there to-day, and there are not more than three hundred Chinese students studying in America. Shortly after the war, in one year there were thirteen thousand Chinese actually studying in Japan at the same time. In China to-day there are something over fifteen thousand university graduates from Japan. This gives rise to problems, no doubt, but it is also increasing the influence of Japan tremendously. There are three hundred thousand Japanese in Korea, three hundred thousand more in Manchuria, and so on, and so on; and here I say again that all these movements are not the result of well-deliberated plans on the part of the government but are just

the movements of the awakened ambition of an increasing people. They must be reckoned with, recognized as natural, inevitable and right.

There are many things I could say here if there were time as to what Japan has been and is doing in this war. We cannot begin to realize in Canada what the alliance between England and Japan has been for us. A Japanese official said to me five months after the war had begun: "Mr. Bates, Canada ought to feel differently towards us, because the Canadian Pacific Coast has been protected by the Japanese fleet and British soldiers have been convoyed in our ships." When I told of that incident at a meeting of the Canadian Club at Hamilton, at the end of the meeting Mr. Bell, manager of one of the banks in Hamilton, said he was present in British Columbia at the beginning of the war, and people there were aware of the fact that the *Leipsic* and another German boat were not far away from the Pacific coast. There was considerable anxiety at the time, which was completely dissipated when it was reported that the Japanese fleet was in the offing, and the German ships finally went south. The Japanese, sixteen years ago, in January, 1902, made an alliance with England and that alliance they have kept most faithfully to the letter up to the present moment, and we can depend upon the Japanese Government to keep its alliance and agreement faithfully, as faithfully as any government has ever kept its alliance. I do not know of one instance where the Japanese government has not kept faithfully to its pledged word.

There is a little poem, just a verse, written by a Japanese, which is significant:

"Lo, in my garden all things thrive and grow,  
E'en foreign plants, with care bestowed upon their tender shoots,  
Grow strong and free like those indigenous to soil and clime."

You know Kipling says:

"For East is East and West is West,  
And never the twain shall meet,  
Till two strong men....."

We have got to recognize that there are "two strong men" on the other side of the Pacific,—strong, and daily growing stronger, that will have to meet as two strong men

meet, and the old order of superiority, that attitude which the white man has assumed to the colored man in the past, has passed and is gone forever. We are living in days as critical as any days have ever been, and one of its most significant features is the new relationship between the peoples of Asia, the great motherland of all the races, and the peoples of the West.

(*March 11, 1918*)

## THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE NOW AND AFTER THE WAR

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By DR. JOHN DOUGLAS ADAM

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**I**T is an inspiring pleasure to be in Canada, even for only a couple of days, for Canada has begun to impress the man on the other side of the line as the model as to how things are to be done for the rest of the war. Canada inspires popular imagination to-day as few countries do, not by self-advertisement, but by consummate and glorious sacrifice.

I am very glad to be here as a guest, not only because I see your club to be a clearing house of vital and useful and universal ideas, but because I can see that, as a great company of thinking men, this club is a creative center for public opinion. That is the absolute need of the hour—a constant, progressive creation of ideas upon which popular opinion may live and move and have its being; and it is from centres like this that such creation is possible in the life of the world.

This present war, as I see it, is the conflict of two diametrically opposed ideas, democracy and autocracy. As I read the philosophy of history, democracy is the most ascendant idea in the modern world. I think we all agree that it was born some two thousand years ago and has been struggling for existence and recognition all through the centuries. Here and there we had a glimmer of light, such as in the Magna Charta of King John, finally expressing itself in the life of those men and women who came over in the seventeenth century, with the highest ideals of their time in the world, to what is now the United States. They brought those ideas and ideals into the corporate life around them, and the result of it has influenced not only the States and Canada, but France, and England herself, and not least, in the earlier days, Germany. I suppose Germany would say that the greatest intellect born

in her country was Immanuel Kant, who gave expression and illumination to the conception of universal brotherhood. But for that democratic movement Kant would never have had that vision.

I say democracy or idealism—and democracy is the crown and flower of idealism—is the most ascendant idea in the modern world, and every man who interprets the spirit of the modern world interprets it in terms of democracy. Over against that idea there is another idea, autocracy. Autocracy is a recrudescence of the past, a rebirth of the idea that we thought was dead and buried, an anachronism the battle against which was almost won. The headquarters of the rebirth of the old idea is Germany. Monarchical absolutism has been expressed when Frederick the Great said: "There is only one person in the State, and I am that person," when the present Kaiser said: "The spirit of God is upon me, because I am Emperor of the Germans." That is monarchical absolutism. The foundation of this is not, as we should say, the will of the people, but the army. The idea of autocracy was not born of the intellectuals in Germany. The intellectuals in Germany are the creatures of this monarchical absolutism, this idea, and have capitulated to it. They are vassals of the idea. Academic Germany has become the slave of this expression of despotism and central authority, this apotheosis of the power of the Emperor. Not only have the intellectuals surrendered to it, but the other day the Cologne Gazette, which I am informed is an inspired organ of the government, said that the German people repudiated the idea of democratization. Therefore we have those two ideas, standing face to face. It is an epitome of history, a gathering together of the two ideas, one of which must survive, and unless democracy survives, all the movement and struggle and aspirations of the past have no meaning nor significance. We would have nothing to do with the political philosophy of Germany in her internal life, so long as she kept it to herself. We who have gone to Germany and listened to her talk in universities and social life, recognized what has been going on since the Franco-Prussian war. It was not our affair until this idea ran amuck in the world, as some of us have seen it in Flanders and France, at Ypres, where your sons and brothers have given their lives.

When a man goes up and down your streets with a gun shooting everybody up you simply take charge of him, and that is what we allies have to do. As I understand it, these allied nations are fighting for a great moral idea that is the very backbone of history, the very meaning of the word progress, and that idea must have the right of way if the world is to go on. That is the position as I see it.

It is not a geographical idea. I sometimes hear men saying in the United States: "I do not see why the United States is in this war. We are three thousand miles away," and I say, "My dear fellow, the idea is not three thousand miles away from your head, unless it is a good deal further." The only distance of an idea from a man's head is his willingness or ability to take it in. The allied nations are in this war because the world is a living organism, which interpenetrates part with part. The idea of an aggregation of nations has gone. It is now a figment of the imagination. There is no such thing any more. So many things have gone to make up this interpenetrating organism. The newspaper, the postal service, the telegraph, telephone, wireless, railway, international ideas, international commerce, international finance, and all these things have gone to make the world no longer simply great geographical distances, but one small, compressed neighborhood, full of a common life. What we are fighting for is to keep that body intact. For instance, if a man has a malignant growth in his body he calls in a surgeon, and the surgeon tries to locate it and cut it out. There has grown up in this living, interpenetrating organism which we call the world, there has come into it a cancerous growth, and the headquarters of it is Germany. We must cut that growth out, and we cannot cut out a growth by discussions about peace. This thing will not be settled in the realm of the mere intellect. When a man becomes an intellectual he sometimes forgets the elemental man who must have a big share in the result of the work of his brain. I think, perhaps, we have been having a little too much of the intellect and a little too little of the elemental man. At any rate, we allied nations are in this war for the purpose of excising this malignant growth from the body politic of the world. Not only that, but to keep that body together; because the only thing that holds a body together in the sense in which

I am speaking of it, is confidence. Confidence is the bond that binds all kinds of civil and corporal life, it binds our family life, our business life, it binds together the interests of the Dominion. Confidence is the bond that binds all institutions. That bond that has bound civilized life has been broken.

The Kaiser says that there is no such thing now as international law, and the Kaiser ought to know. But we must recover it. The allied nations are in this war for the preservation of that thing for which all progress in the past has stood, namely, idealism as against mere materialism, mere material efficiency. Everyone of us here admits that Germany is marvellously efficient in a material sense. We stand amazed at it; but that is all she has, all she has expressed toward this world since the war began, material efficiency. Every moral consideration has gone down since that day. No man can read reports like Viscount Bryce's on Belgium, no man can go through France and Flanders and look with his own eyes and hear with his own ears, without realizing that the only thing she has to-day as she stands related to the rest of the civilized world is that one thing, material efficiency, and that every moral consideration has been trampled under foot, as if we were living in the jungle with tigers and all kinds of wild beasts. Your country, the old land and the United States, France and Belgium, stand for the retention of the ideal element in life, without which life is not worth living. We might as well ring down the curtain on the whole business. If Germany were to win, the whole of the past history of this world, so far as there has been progress in it, has miscarried, and we are in the midst of the blackest tragedy of all.

But it is not going to be. Look at that pile of stones, and then look at the great cathedral. What is the difference? Architecture. Look at that pile of iron at the mouth of the mine, and look at that bridge standing, spanning that river. What is the difference? Mathematics. Look at that pot of paint and that yard of canvas in the dry goods store and look at the great picture in one of your galleries. They are both paint and canvas, yes, but there is the element of inspiration and artistic vision. That is, the things that give to life worth and joy and human significance and splendor are the impalpable things, the things you cannot carry off in a bag; for you

cannot carry off architecture in a bag, nor mathematics, nor the inspiration and vision of the artist in the painting of a picture. It is that thing that we must retain in the life of the world, and Germany has parted with it, and is pressing forward so that she may wipe it out of the lives of the people of these nations. Is it not something glorious to live and to die for in these days? We are at the focus point of all the past, to preserve in the common life of the world those things which all the past has given us, and the only things that are worth living for. In these days, with all the black shadows and the heavy, low-lying clouds, it is a glorious thought that we have a hand in this task, for God and to-morrow.

And you and I are in this war just as well as the boys at the front. We are engaged in a war, I say, which is a war primarily of ideas. There is no real distance when we come to think of it between those men and ourselves. The morale of our boys and our morale are one, and the morale at the front is affected by the morale in this room, by wireless, if you like. There is no geography to the human spirit, and those men's spirits are upheld by the spirit that triumphs and overflows in the heart of every man who is interested in this task. It is your business and mine, wherever we are located, to see that we keep this morale mighty in our own souls and imaginations, so that it shall inspire us, and so inspire the hearts of the men who are going over the top to-night in the trenches of France. We gain a victory here before we gain it there. The real fighting ground, the headquarters of the fighting is within the breasts of the men; that is what we mean by morale. The morale of the soldier is not equipment, or sufficient ammunition. It is not physical health, nor that the commissariat department has looked after its business. The morale of the army and nation is the training of the inner life to the vision of success. Show me a man who has visualized success through a balanced imagination and I will show you a man who has quadrupled his powers of achievement. Show me a man who has visualized failure, and I will show you a man who has maimed and broken the creative energies of his personality. Morale is that you and I shall have that sanguine outlook, that we shall paint the picture of to-morrow, of this Dominion, of these allied nations, not in sepia but in colors of gold and scarlet. That we shall not sing our dirges in these streets,

and requiems, but that we shall carry banners and visualize victory, so that those men at the front shall thrill to our morale. We shall win—and if not with weapons, then with the weapons of our own inner consciousness, our own sanguine imagination, as we visualize success for our brothers.

We are at the very crisis hour of history, of the history of the world. You see where Germany is to-day, prowling around looking to snap up, unscrupulously, inhumanly, all the power she can get. Unless that sanguine spirit of yours and mine and of our fellows on the battlefield breaks this thing and breaks it forever, you see what a swing back of the pendulum of progress we have on our hands. And after the war, what then? Because when the war is won the same idea must fight its way to the ascendant in the life of the world. I began by saying that the dominant idea in the modern world is democracy, idealism. We must bring this purpose and those principles for which we are fighting into the actual concrete relations of men and women, in nations and in international relationships. In order to do that we must have a revaluation of values. If you walk along Princess Street in Edinburgh at one o'clock you hear the gun from the castle peal out the hour with a deafening roar. It is connected by an electric wire, with Greenwich Observatory; and you will see men on Princess Street taking out their watches and regulating them by the gun. That is what we must do now in view of after the war. We must have men like you in the astronomical observatory getting a revaluation, getting to see our cosmic problems steadily and whole, not cynically, but steadily and whole. Not with individual conceit, but in the humility of a vast enterprise. Along what lines? That is largely in the future of the new day. But this I know. Our revaluation must be in the direction of what the real satisfactions of life are. We must have in our actual life a revival of idealism as against materialism. We must discover to men the secret of the fullness of life, that it is not so much in things as in the attitude of the spirit. And your sons are fighting for that in the trenches to-day. What are they thinking of, the material? As I saw them in the front line trenches, twenty yards from the Germans, up to the waist in water, their khaki torn in shreds because they had been over the top the day before, with their gas mask and shell helmet around their necks and

wit that attitude of peace and joy and good humor, living from hand to mouth, staring death in the face, having died a hundred times as they lived, those men were not thinking of material satisfaction, but they were living in the atmosphere of the sacrifice to a great and high principle, one of the greatest and most lasting satisfactions that life offers us.

We need a revaluation of the meaning of success. I do not know how it is with you, but as a man who goes through the Universities of the United States as I have done for over twenty years, I feel that one of the greatest things in university life is for young men to realize what success really is. That it is not primarily getting, but giving. Those sons of yours in France and Flanders have re-discovered what it is to be a man, with a new sense of the dignity and sanctity of life. They have discovered it in the attitude that supreme success is primarily self-giving, and there comes in that self-giving all that is coming to us of satisfaction. Surely there is enough dynamic for a man's ambition, to realize that if he adopts service instead of getting as the one dominant idea of his life, he is not only fulfilling his own destiny as a man, but that he is answering the call for a new economic value to go out from the individual. And lastly, if we are to have a new day, incorporating in it these things for which our men are fighting, we must have, as an ideal, internationalism rising as an outgrowth of a legitimate and healthy nationalism.

We see to-day that mere nationalism can never be the end of thought, never be the end of a nation's life any more. We see that the world is a unit and the world must be maintained as a unit. It is our task to think it through, how this world can be held as a unit after this war is over, so that there shall never be another war. It is for us to bring our best thought to centers like this, to let go so much of our flippant conversations and face the challenge of the intellect, to grapple with this tremendous problem that lies ahead of us, to give our brains to the State, and to the world. That may find a guarantee that in the life of to-morrow there shall be no such tragedy, but that we shall see the coming of a new day, of brotherhood amongst men, when every man shall bring his economic value to society, and when the progress which has been held up by the military machine shall have once more the right of way.

(March 15, 1918)

## THE BAGDAD RAILWAY IN THE WAR

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By CHARLES WOODS, F.R.G.S.

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**T**HE Bagdad Railway has been, and is, and perhaps still will be, the backbone of pan-Germanism in the East. I will briefly outline the facilities which the Bagdad Railway affords the enemy to-day.

Since the opening of the Taurus tunnel, probably at the end of 1916 or the beginning of 1917, it is possible to start from Constantinople and to travel right across northeastern Asia Minor. Out of the fifteen hundred miles from Constantinople to Bagdad roughly eleven hundred can be made by train. At the Bagdad end, there is roughly speaking seventy-five miles of line completed, which is of course now in British hands, for we occupy at least as far as Samara. The advantages to the enemy of the northern section of that railway must be apparent. It enabled them to send reinforcements to Mesopotamia, and to put up the very heavy resistance to our Mesopotamia forces which would otherwise have been impossible. They have gained an alternate route by the River Euphrates, which is now crossed by the railway, from which rafts and boats were floated down that river to the Mesopotamia front. Then again the new route reduced the distance to what was known as the Russian front, a front which unfortunately has now ceased to exist. Of the three hundred miles uncovered by railway approximately one hundred and fifty miles can be done by river from Mosul, by the river Tigris, and at most one hundred miles would have to be done by road. So much for the geography of the Bagdad Railway itself.

Starting from near Aleppo, just north of it, there begins the Syrian system of railways. Prior to the war that system was not politically a part of the Bagdad Railway, for while

some of the lines in Syria were Turkish, others were French. But they are now, of course, part of the Bagdad system, from a military point of view. Starting from Aleppo, we have the French line outward to the junction a little west of Damascus. There the broad gauge line meets the narrow gauge line coming from Beirut. Unless changes have recently been made that is where there occurs the break in gauge, and not at Aleppo. The junction of this line with that coming east from Haifa is made at a point called Dera, whence the main line goes down on the east of Jordan to Medina. That line was completed before the war. What was not completed was the new line running on the west of Jordan from Nazareth down to the Egyptian frontier. That line was actually completed by the Turks after the outbreak of the war, and it has, of course, together with the other Syrian lines and the Bagdad Railway, played a very prominent part in the operations. It may well have been that, knowing that those improvements were to be made, we decided to make dashes forward which from a military standpoint would not have been ordinarily justifiable.

This railway system was not a commercial undertaking, nor a philanthropic undertaking of Germany in the interests of Turkey, but a definite pan-German plan, destined to favor the Germans upon the day when the actual circumstances of this war arose. That plan has been developed in two, or perhaps we may now say three stages. The first was the initial stage of German policy in the East. It began, not from 1904 or from the Anglo-French or the Anglo-Russian Entente, not at the time when Germany now claims that she was endangered and terrified of Anglo-French or Anglo-Russian aggression, but from the very moment when the present Kaiser ascended the throne, in the year 1888. So early as the year 1889 His Imperial Majesty made his first carpet-bagging expedition to the south. In 1890 by "the dropping of the pilot," there occurred in the retirement of Bismarck a reversal of a policy which is summed up in his phrase that the whole Eastern question was not worth the bones of a Pomeranian Grenadier. In 1888 all the railways in Asia Minor were practically, if not completely in British hands. Immediately prior, however, to the first visit of the Emperor, the Turks dispossessed the British of what is now the first section of the Bagdad Railway,

and leased it to a German Company. That was the beginning of the development of German railways in Asia Minor. In 1898 the Kaiser made his second carpet-bagging expedition to Turkey. Speaking from the Holy Land he declared himself the friend of the Sultan and the Moslem. That was not a mere pious declaration; it was destined to be followed, and actually was immediately followed, by the preliminary concession for the Bagdad Railway, concessions promised verbally as early as the year 1889. German military expeditions were sent to train the Turkish army, and the necessity for reforms in Macedonia and Armenia was ignored. Armenians and Christians were allowed to be brutally massacred so long as the Germans did not offend the Turks, and therefore secured concessions. A state of unrest was maintained in the Balkans in order to keep the ground open for the future. To pass over many a minor event and to come to the Turco-Italian war of 1911 and 1912; even that was not allowed to re-act against pan-Germanism in the Ottoman Empire. Germany put up her other ally, Austria, to object to Italy's operations in the Balkans; and when things got too hot for the German Ambassador, Baron von Bieberstein, who had been responsible for the development of pan-Germanism in the Balkans, he was removed from Constantinople and brought to London. The Germans and Austrians encouraged unrest and rivalry between the Balkan States and finally brought about the second Balkan war, and a so-called settlement of the Balkan question, a settlement so much an unsettlement that it left the ground once more ready for this great struggle. So much then for the initial stage of German policy; that brings us up to the outbreak of this war.

I think there is no doubt now that when the Germans brought about this awful struggle, they did not anticipate that the French and the Russians would be immediately supported by Great Britain. In that case they would have left the near Eastern question still unsettled in order that it might be used in a future war, as they intended it to be, against Great Britain and against the British Empire. That plan was happily offset by the immediate support which we gave to our allies. That, of course, changed the whole German plan in the East, because if there was to be a war at all the Germans

had to try to make this a final war, and therefore it was no use leaving open the Balkan question. The Balkan question, the near-Eastern question, the Bagdad Railway, had to be immediately developed in order to strike a blow at the vitals of the British Empire and particularly at Egypt and India. Consequently the plan had to be changed and all the Balkan States had to be ranged on one side or the other, to suit the convenience of the Central Powers. If we take ourselves back to the few weeks which followed the outbreak of the war we find that Serbia alone and Montenegro were engaged in hostilities. The first necessity in this consummation stage for Germany was the bringing of Turkey into the war on their side. That was done by intrigue and lying propaganda against us and against our allies, and finally by the sending of two German battleships to Constantinople. The next thing was the obtaining of a connection between Central Europe and Turkey. This was done by the alliance with Bulgaria and the consequent subjugation of Serbia. That gave the through connection from Central Europe to Constantinople and eventually towards Bagdad. Just before the success of that stage was assured we undertook the Dardanelles campaign, a campaign obviously inaugurated firstly to endeavor to prevent the German success in the East, and secondly to try to bring to Russia that support which she requested. Greece was thought to be of no serious importance, and therefore Germany's energies were devoted to Roumania, which was so important as a connecting link that she had to be on one side or the other. There is no doubt that the Germans intrigued so that if they could not get Roumania on their side, they would get her against them, and over-run the country and use the connections towards the south-east. They could not, of course, use them so long as Roumania was still a power. That gives you an outline of the consummation stage of pan-Germanism in the East, a stage which like the previous one was directed to developing the full advantages of the Bagdad Railway.

We come now to the last stage in the process. We have heard a great deal recently about the new route which Germany has secured to the East by the imposition of terms of peace upon Russia and upon Roumania. We do not, I think, yet know whether that is all bluff or whether it is a real idea of

pan-Germanism, running this time not from Hamburg to Bagdad, but from the North Sea to the Pacific. Perhaps, then, it may be interesting if I digress from the Bagdad Railway for a moment and explain to you what this may mean. The Germans have already got Costanza, the Roumanian port on the Black Sea. They either have got or soon will get Odessa. Both Costanza and Odessa are nearer to Berlin and to Central Germany than is Constantinople. On the other hand, both Costanza and Odessa are as near to Batoum. This is part of the territory which under the peace terms of Russia and the Central Powers goes to Turkey. From Batoum there is a railway which goes to Tiflis, and from Tiflis it goes southwest to Kars, and from there it runs right through to Tabriz in Persia. Tabriz is in the heart of Northern Persia and is situated roughly 350 miles from Bagdad. Of course there are no railways across and probably no good roads. That means to say that if the enemy can use these Roumanian railways, these Russian railways, and if there are ships on the Black Sea, then he may now have gained three distinct advantages; first, he may be able to cause disturbances in Persia and the territories bordering upon India. Secondly, he gets an alternate route to the Bagdad Railway towards Mesopotamia. Third, he has left the Bagdad Railway free for use for the Egyptian-Assyrian campaign, instead of having to employ it also for the Mesopotamian campaign. While I am far, and very far, from any feelings of pessimism, we have got to recognize that German diplomacy in the East has not been that wholesale failure which some two or three years ago it was the fashion to consider it. It has not been a failure in the East largely, I think, because its brutality, its underhandedness is such as to be understood and recognized by these Eastern peoples. In other words, we have gone to them as Westerners and as gentlemen, and the Germans have gone as Easterners and as Prussians, and they have understood that form of treatment better than they have understood ours. But if the enemy has succeeded in the details of his diplomacy, he has utterly failed in his general problems. He did not anticipate, as I have already said, that we should come to the support of our allies. He did not foresee that the British Empire would gather and rally around the home

country in the way that she has. For example, he did not suspect that within three months of the outbreak of the war, that magnificent division which came from here would already be on home shores. He did not think that the Italians would go so far as to support the cause of the Allies; and last, but not least, he did not think that our compatriots in thought, in speech, the United States, would finally throw in their lot in favor of liberalism and of democracy. These are mistakes which in the end will far more than counterbalance the successful minor policies which he has been able to carry out.

(March 21, 1918)

## THE EMPIRE AND THE WAR

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By GENERAL McLACHLAN, D.S.O.

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**I** SHOULD like to tell you in a few words why I chose "The Empire and the War" as my subject. This war has had, is having and will have a great, permanent and I hope a beneficial effect on the British Empire. If we mean to derive the greatest good from the effects of this terrible war on the British Empire, we must consider the question now, and not wait until the end of the war to do it, and prepare for action now. I spent some twenty years of my life in various parts of the British Empire, and I have been a professional soldier all my life, and those two facts have emboldened me to put my views before you to-day.

We meet at a time when the world is convulsed by a terrible, devastating struggle. The minds and the energies of millions of men and women are turned from the arts of peace and civilization, and are directed into the making and employing against one another of the most scientific and murderous weapons of destruction. Once again, as in the time of the Roman Empire, the German volcano is in eruption and the whole world is ablaze. True to her pledged word and to the instincts of her race, the British nation, the British Empire, is throwing the whole of her vast resources into the struggle against the German autocracy, which seeks dominion over the world. In this great struggle we are faced with the biggest and the most important problems that have ever faced an Empire, problems of world-wide strategy, of man-power, of communications, of food supplies, problems so large and so important that they seem almost beyond the wit of man to solve. And the Empire is taking them up and is facing them, and is facing them with a good measure of success. There is no doubt that Germany counted on the disruption of the British

Empire as a result of this war. Prussian statesmen expected Canada, Australia and New Zealand to stand aloof and indifferent, or else to take an early opportunity of cutting themselves adrift from the Empire. Prussian statesmen thought that South Africa, on the declaration of war, would blaze up in rebellion and declare her independence. In India, so they thought, there would be another and more successful mutiny than before. Egypt would rise up in rebellion against British rule. But the whole world knows what happened. To the surprise and pain of Germany there was revealed the magnificent spirit of Canada, of India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and all the other parts of the Empire, responding splendidly to the call of the Mother Country and all hastening to help her and her Allies. At this juncture I should like just in a word to refer very briefly to the things achieved by the soldiers of the Overseas Dominions. Most of it is old history to you, but I think it is the sort of history we may be proud of. In September, 1914, as you know, a little more than a month after the war broke out, Canada's first division, 33,000 strong, was reviewed by the Duke of Connaught. In the middle of the following month that division landed in England. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, in December, 1914, went over to France to join the 27th Division. In February, 1915, the Canadian Division went over to France and to that historic place, Ploegsteert Wood. In March, 1915, that same division took part in the fighting at Neuve Chapelle and covered itself with glory. At the end of the second battle of Ypres, 22nd April to 6th May, 1915, when the Germans used that new and terrible weapon, poisoned gas, the Canadian Division filled the gap and they covered themselves with a fame which will never die. After that day the history of Canadian triumphs in the West is the history of the British successes there, Somme, Vimy Ridge, Lens, all these names have added to the fame of the Canadian troops. I was in the trenches with the 7th division, alongside the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, and I was commanding officer during 1915-16. The Canadian corps was just on our right. In Canada before in times of peace I have seen the Canadian soldier training, and I knew how good he was. It gave me the greatest satisfaction to have the opportunity of seeing him in times

of war, and see the magnificent work he did. I am not going into details; but one thing which rejoiced all our hearts was the extraordinarily kindly way they took to the trench raid. I think it was a Canadian who had the distinction of inventing that very neat device of putting an electric torch on the end of the rifle, in order that we might illumine the enemy trench. It was an extremely successful piece of work and was largely imitated by the rest of the British army, including my own brigade. The Australians and New Zealanders, the famous Anzacs, did magnificent work in Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine. They have been fighting extremely well, too, there on the Western front. The South African troops, unaided by the Imperial forces, conquered Southwest Africa; and the South African troops are largely responsible for the capture of German Southeast Africa. In the taking of the Messines Ridge the South Africans distinguished themselves greatly, and in the Ypres salient also. The Indian army, in the dark days at the beginning of the war, came as reinforcements whose weight just turned the scale in our favor and prevented the Germans from getting to Calais and the channel ports; and at the present moment our forces in Mesopotamia are largely composed of Indian troops, and you all know the magnificent work done by them recently.

Now the question arises, why have all these great, free nations sent their sons from the ends of the earth to fight side by side with the sons of the Mother Country? One reason is found in the love of liberty, of democratic ideals and a desire and a determination to preserve the spirit of unity founded on those ideals—this is one thing which makes the Empire united in heart and single in purpose. Also the whole of the Overseas Dominions realize that this quarrel was forced upon us; that we could not stand by and see our liberties and the liberties of weak and inoffensive nations trampled underfoot; and especially a nation whose independence we had guaranteed. Above all and beyond all there was the realization of the supreme truth, that this quarrel transcends even the destiny of our great Empire. It involves the future of civilization and of the whole world.

Hundreds of years ago the people in the Mother Country secured the right to govern themselves. Constitutional

government, individual liberty, equal rights, these are the bases and foundation on which the national life rested. So in the Overseas Dominions the same ideals of liberty and justice led to the establishment of self-governing institutions. There were short-sighted politicians who believed that the right to self-government would in case of war tear the Empire asunder, that the Dominions would use their free development to stand aloof; but this very free development has united the different parts of our Empire with a stronger tie than would be possible under any system of autocracy. Like steel under the blow of the hammer this war has welded the Empire to a splendid whole. It is our duty to ensure the development of this great Empire, to make certain that the magnificent heritage handed down to us shall not stagnate, but shall continue to make steady progress along the path of liberty, freedom and justice, along the path of free development towards the realization of those ideals for which we are now struggling. The old order has changed and the Empire will never perhaps be quite the same after the war as it is now. But to all of us has been brought home the fact that the great policies of the Empire, on which the issues of war and peace depend, are no longer the sole concern of the people who dwell in the Mother Country, but of every inhabitant of this great Empire.

Before I say anything further about the future of this Empire I would like you just for one minute to glance at its constituent parts, for to my mind this question of the composition of our Empire largely determines its future. The real fact is this. We are very different from any Empire that has ever existed. We are not one nation, one state and one Empire; we are a whole world by ourselves, consisting of various states and different communities, all under one flag. We are a system of states, not merely a stationary, stagnant system, but a dynamic system constantly evolving towards new destinies. Look at the various component parts. There is the United Kingdom, with a number of crown colonies, great protectorates like Egypt which itself was a great Empire once, great dependencies like India. India is itself an enormous Empire, one of the oldest civilizations in the world. We are busy out there trying to see how East and West can work together in harmony for the solution of the great problems

before India. Then there are the great overseas dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The question is how are we going to provide a government for this group of nations? It is a big problem. I do not say it is a new one, but I think after the war it will be looked at in rather a new light. If you want to see how large that question is, take the United States by way of comparison. There, in the United States, you have a great nation in one big, contiguous area. Compare that with the problem presented by the British Empire. There you have a number of nations all over the world, some self-governing, some not, working under diverse conditions, but all growing to be greater nations now than they were in the past. You can see at a glance that the federal solution which was satisfactory to the United States will probably not work for the nations composing the British Empire.

The fact is this, in all the Empires of the past and even in the United States itself the effort has been to form one single, homogeneous nation. These Empires were all founded on the principle of assimilation, of forcing human material in one mould, to form one nation. The basis on which our Empire rests is absolutely different. We do not want to standardize the nations of the British Empire. We want them to grow and develop into freer nations, according to the principles of self-government, liberty and justice. Therefore, our whole basic idea is absolutely different from any problem raised by any Empire before or even by the United States. The fundamental fact is that this Empire of ours does not stand for assimilation or standardization or denationalization. It stands for a freer, a richer and a more varied growth among all the nations that compose it. General Smuts, now sitting in the war cabinet, himself admitted that nations like his own, though they were against us, feel that they and their religion and their interests and their language are just as safe under British rule as are the interests and the well-being and the welfare of our own household and our own blood. It is only in proportion as this is realized that the citizens of this great Empire will fulfil their Imperial mission. Therefore, it seems to me that the only solution for the government in this Empire is the solution supplied by our past conditions: freedom, self-government and development along national lines to the fullest extent of the nations that compose the Empire.

We are not going to force federation upon the nations of this Empire, we are going to extend liberty and justice and nationhood more and more among all the nations that compose it.

Now, if we are to have this more varied and richer life, this development among all its parts, what will save the Empire from disintegrating? To my mind there are two very important factors which make for Imperial unity. The first, and perhaps the greatest is the King, God bless him! Our hereditary monarch is a wonderful bond of unity for the Empire. You who like me have been around in the outlying parts of the Empire know that the personal devotion of the subjects to a King whom many of them have never seen, is indeed touching. It was my good fortune to go home on several occasions at Coronation time, when Queen Victoria came to the throne in '87, and the coronations of King Edward and of King George. I have seen people coming home from the ends of the earth, some of them white, and some of them colored, and in the hearts of every one of them that same longing to see the face of the ruler whom they had for years revered from afar. I have known them go back and talk for years in outlying villages of the monarch whose face they had gazed upon, and they will talk of that to their dying day. That is a factor in the unity of the Empire, is it not? It is a factor the importance of which I do not think can be over-estimated when we are dealing with the preservation and development of the Empire. My second point is the machinery of common consultation among the various parts of the Empire. For a long time we have relied almost exclusively on an Imperial Conference which met once in four years. Lately we have made a great step forward. We have the Imperial War Cabinet. The Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the representatives of India, etc., were summoned home to an Imperial Cabinet. No doubt that was a step in advance. It is clear some form of common consultation is in process of formation. The principal statesmen of the Empire must be got home, and we must get them together once a year or as often as is found necessary, and let them sit at a table and consult, in order that they may have the opportunity of working out some common form of foreign policy for the whole Empire, and also that they may avoid friction and misunderstanding. This bond will have far-reaching effects. You cannot settle

upon a common policy for the whole of the British Empire without changing pretty considerably what has been going on in the past. The policy will have to be a good deal simplified. The great democracies of the Overseas dominions pin their faith to broad principles; and if the Imperial Foreign policy is going to be determined by the whole of the people of this Empire it has got to be a simpler and more intelligible policy than it has been in the past. I think for the present we may as well admit that the United Kingdom is the senior partner in the concern, and while this Imperial Council is not sitting the foreign policy would naturally be directed by the cabinet at home, but always subject to what was laid down at these conferences, which is a much safer policy than in the past. I think it will lead to greater publicity. After the catastrophe which has happened to Europe all nations will want to know a great deal more about the way they are being governed. You will see that when it is no longer a question of the government of England but of a number of governments, each of which is responsible to its own Parliament, a good deal more discussion and publicity concerning foreign affairs will be indulged in than in the past; and that is a highly desirable object to obtain.

In conclusion, I should like to give you just one warning, not to put too much stress on forms of government. This war has built up a wonderful feeling of patriotism among the nations of this Empire. What really matters is not the form of government; what really matters is the spirit that animates the whole system. Our generation has had laid on it the burden of war. On us has been laid the duty of sacrificing our personal wishes and interests on the altar of liberty. The fire on that altar is the spirit of the people. If it were to flicker or falter the progress of centuries of civilization would be destroyed. Do not think that this is impossible. Civilizations almost as complete as ours have crumbled in the past. The civilizations of the Assyrians, of the Persians, of the Egyptians, of the Greeks and the Romans, have crumbled and passed forever, and so will ours unless we kill that spirit that lives in the Hohenzollerns. When we have done that, we can so reconstruct our glorious Empire that it will contain even more fully than in the past, the spirit of equality of opportunity and equality of sacrifice.

(March 25, 1918)

## PALESTINE AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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By ALEXANDER SACHS

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**I**T is certainly true that it is hard to turn our thoughts away from France; yet in this hour we ought to have what Mr. Lloyd George has called "cold zeal," and look at the front as a whole as a single front. In that single front the East is not a side show; indeed, it is one of the two critical points of the war. Someone has described German ambition as an eagle with two rapacious wings, one spreading toward the English Channel and the other towards Bagdad. The later developments of German policy give the emphasis upon the wing towards Bagdad. The whole reason of the recent arrangement at the front has been that Germany wishes to make a peace getting all it can in the East, and simply showing the West that there it will be a draw. She is willing to compromise on the west, but not on the east. For that very reason, you who are trained to think on the broad perspective of the British Empire must realize that, though the cloud is dark now, its gloom is being dispersed, through the light that is coming from the East. Yesterday the British crossed the Jordan, and for all we know most probably got that very bridge which the Germans built from the Jordan up to that old Greek city, once a great center of civilization, Philadelphia. From there they will go through to the junction of the Hedjaz railway to Aleppo, then from Aleppo the front becomes one, with Mesopotamia on one side and Palestine on the other. That front is important because it is the safety and the security of the British Empire, situated as it is between the old world and the new. That is why, at the very beginning of the war, Kitchener's plan was to attack the Germans through Turkestan and not through the Dardanelles, and prevent Turkey from becoming an important military factor. Then

the whole Bagdad scheme would have been destroyed, and with that destruction would have come something else. It is not enough alone to break the military despotism there. Something else is needed in its place, and that is to give the control of the near East into hands which will open it up for civilization, with none of the characteristics of the Empire that consists merely of plantations and barracks, where all the populations are exploited just like coal in peace times, and merely looked upon as common fodder in wartime. That sort of civilization must be destroyed, because so much in tears and suffering has been spent upon it by the civilized nations, and because it is blocking the advance of mankind.

The near East was once very great. It was once the vital heart of civilization from which we derived the science and practical invention for the feeding of the whole world. It has given machinery which has served as the basic idea of the machines you are using in your factories. It has given the world a great clearing house, a great highway and a great haven, a highway for the processes of commerce, and a haven for the spirit, whence to issue forth and conquer the world with its religion. It has given the world also the very purpose of the British Empire in this war; because if you read Isaiah with modern eyes you will see that what the Prophet was mostly concerned about was that the foreign policy should be moral and not rapacious. What Isaiah wanted was to establish in the world public right, and that alone can be the guarantee of peace and of permanent peace. Isaiah wrote what Asquith and Lloyd George have spoken within our recent memory.

That near East was lost because Mongols invaded it, the Turks made that flourishing land desolate. The road from China, called the Silk Street, recently rediscovered, was given up, and they tried to go to India a round-about way; and just as the opening up of the western world was a side-show to the near east, discovered in seeking the shortest route to India, so from the larger historical perspective the re-discovery and the re-building of the near East will be as significant as the opening up of America. The world, if it wants to avert a famine after the war, must open up the granaries of Palestine and Mesopotamia. Mr. Hoover said to one of my college mates that the war would make a famine in the world, and require more

drastic regulations in regard to food for two generations to come, unless new sources of supply are opened. Five million hectares of land in Mesopotamia provided, a thousand years ago, to what was then the equivalent of the British Empire, the power that controlled Egypt, 135 million francs—twice as much as Egypt yielded—in mere customs duties, so rich was the country; and this same Mesopotamia can give the world again new sources of supply. The Bagdad scheme was not invented by the Germans. It was planned by Britain. All the German schemes are copies. The German plan for opening up the near East is not with a view to benefiting the populations touching the railways there, because Armenia is not included. Another important factor has been discovered for keeping the west alive, and that is by growing throughout civilization wild wheat. The process was discovered by Aaron Aronson, in Palestine, and was translated by the Department of Agriculture in Washington and put into practice in Montana and Arizona. The Jews are working out new expedients to feed the body as well as the soul of civilization.

Another feature which we must keep to the fore is that with the opening of the near East we can establish roads, railways, etc., which will practically connect the whole world and make it truly one. For example all the members of our dominions could send men to an inter-Imperial Parliamentary Conference, connecting from London through Aleppo, through Northern Palestine, and running along Mesopotamia up to India, taking ship at Madras. In fifteen days we could all attend an Imperial Parliament in London. We are told by men who have figured the matter out that when the processes and inventions built up during the war in connection with aerial navigation begin to be applied, we shall be able to go from London to India in three days. Aerial navigation also will have as junction point that country which was the cross-roads of the three continents. Palestine will be the connecting link between all the important elements of the British Empire and all the important regions of the world. You can readily understand why some people pitch their vision high and far, and believe that after the war the League of Nations should meet, not in the Hague, but in Jerusalem.

We have another alternative—the sort of empire that

Germany wants to build in conjunction with Turkey. This empire would take away all the supports of the British Empire, because the Turks have now started their propaganda for coalition of Afghanistan, Persia, Central Russia and Turkey in one uniform block, a gathering together of all the Mohammedan peoples—you must remember the millions of Mohammedan people in the British Empire. That is the empire of plantations and barracks for which the Germans to this very day are working, and of which they have said that if you checkmate them at Bagdad they still have a route through Afghanistan, through central Asia, through Central Russia, from Batoum to Tabriz and from there building a new railroad into Herat. That is the sort of project which they have. In the Turkish Empire only one-third of the population is Turkish. There are three million Armenians alone and several other nationalities; but there is one color over this variegated coat of all colors, and that is the color of despotism and blood, the very same color with which Germany would paint the world if she were only allowed.

We, the Jews, come to you with a message, because the Jews have withstood centuries of persecution and bloody schemes. Jewry has been Belgium, the martyr. We can say, have faith and have courage, because this sort of thing will not succeed, cannot succeed. The spirit of man would rather build Utopias than U-boat-ias. This Jewish people for twenty centuries have been the martyr of the world. We speak of Jewish migration. That is a euphemism. We mean Jewish deportation. They were deported from place to place; but because of their faith, because of their having taken their land with them, so to speak, they were able to survive, until such is the historical and poetic justice, that in this great war, the first war fought for world liberty, precisely as was written in the Bible, the first people to gain its freedom was the eternal Hebrew, through the declaration made by the British Empire on November 2nd, 1917. This people survived, and such was its power of resistance that if you want an analogy for it you can only think in terms of the survival of the land itself, despite all that the Turks and the Mongols and the successive invasions did to it. You must go to Palestine to understand and appreciate it; and by the way the exploration made by

Condor and Kitchener has given us the first real map of Palestine. They have described so stubborn a resistance of the trees that you can see one smoking and burning at the bottom and its crown is alive and blooming, because the sap of the earth chokes the fire. Through all the persecutions which the Jewish people have endured, they have shown this very resistance. Through all these attacks the tree has remained green, until now it will again be able to spread its roots in Palestine under the shelter and with the aid of the British Government. The British Government has already asked the Zionists to build up a co-operative wheat scheme to feed the population as well as the army. They have made the Anglo-Palestine bank their fiscal agent, to issue again Hebrew currency, which will have written on the very top "the first year to the redemption," and let us hope it will be the first year to the redemption of the world, as well as of Israel. When the opportunity came to go to Palestine, hosts of Jews went and began building a colony in this old, desolate country, and it began to bloom again. If you now take a trip to Palestine, as you approach the port of Haifa you will find the first of the Zionist colonies on the Mediterranean. Then you will come to the Jordan, the very river which will irrigate Palestine, electrify the roads and flood it with light. Further south you have another colony very like the hills in Wales, which dazzles the eye by the colors of its fruits and plants, testifying once more to the richness of Palestine, a richness twenty times as great as that of the Pacific Coast, which is similar to it in climate—a richness which makes us understand why the Jews have provided that in the period of Passover in the Old Jerusalem, when all the Jews from all over the country assembled in Jerusalem, they were not allowed to pluck the flowers lest it be said that they came there to have an æsthetic rather than a religious treat.

This country is showing the world things apart from agriculture, because agriculture, while very important, must be backed by something else. It must be remembered that the Zionist movement was at first supported only by the masses of the Jews, the masses who gave up their pennies and with every one a sigh and a wish that soon, in their own day, that land would be a Jewish land. Large agricultural experi-

ments could not be tried owing to the lack of money. Palestine must be built by the whole Jewish people, and because of this it will not be exploited in the old fashion. Palestine will also be built up by the loyalty to the Empire as well as to Israel of all Jews everywhere, in Montreal as well as in Odessa—where 150,000 Jews took part in a demonstration. That is why Odessa broke from the Ukraine and wants to fight with the Allies, because the Jews of Russia are now using their influence in behalf of the Allies. That is because Great Britain, with wisdom and sagacity, has decided that it was time to restore to the Jewish nation their land, and nothing can express the gratitude of the Jewish people. We have already written our gratitude. Isaiah wrote it and all our Prophets wrote it, and spoke of the nation who would restore Palestine. There are many subjects of the great British Empire, who through fighting in Palestine, or on the Mesopotamia front, are helping us. And there are many who are also assisting the Zionist organization in the present attempt it is making to get a Palestine Restoration Fund together of one hundred million dollars for irrigation, and to make a canal similar to the Suez Canal between Akra and Jordan, according to the plan written down by the Prophet Ezekiel. You British people have that very mixture of sentiment and practicality which you will find in the Jews in the plans of the Zionist organizations. The British nation is a nation of shopkeepers as well as of Shakespeare. Because of that kinship it was the British Empire who under Cromwell re-admitted the Jews, because the vision swept across the mind of Cromwell that the British people were to have a share in the restoration of the Jewish people to the Jewish land. They were a true Bible people, they were a Zionist people; and centuries later,—through a long period of maturing, through the plans of the Zionists, through the backing given to the Zionist organizations by Lord Cromer, Lord Grey, the present cabinet, Lloyd George, Balfour, Lord R. Cecil—Britain had the privilege,—it must be expressed as it is written in Hebrew, the glory,—of following out the word of the Anointed, to restore the Jewish nation and the Jewish land.

Britain has said to us: "You will resume your nationhood, and you will play a leading part for yourself as well as

for the world. You will be a bulwark of security to the British Empire, protecting Egypt and India. You will protect the world by opening up these areas. With the aid of the Arabs and the Semitic peoples in the north, you will be able to prevent that project of Germany which would enable her to overflow over these sections of the world, not for the sake of developing these people, but for the sake of being ascendant, and using them to create another Dark Ages over Europe." The Jews will once again be a vital factor, and Jerusalem will again be the heart of civilization, bringing Asia back to life, and our loyalty to the British Empire will enable us to play a part too in the life of that Empire in which all religions and colors and all nations are allowed to develop their own characteristics and their own spirit, to develop the good that God has infused in them. This Jewish people in that small land, a land which in biblical times held close to ten million people, a land which in Galilee alone had three and a half million people and Galilee is only one-tenth of the whole area, and so would hold forty to fifty millions of people if Palestine had as intensive cultivation as Galilee had at that time—this Jewish people in Palestine who had no experience in agriculture, have done wonders with it so far, because there is an affinity between a land and a nation. A people living in that land will be a people able to take a leading role alongside the British Empire, opening up all this great area, and becoming a haven for those who will come from Paris to Peking, from London to Port Arthur and from the Cape to Petrograd. It will be the model for the world—for the first time a translation into fact of what Isaiah preached—the end to which British statesmanship has directed its efforts and made its policy for the new world we are hoping for, when all peoples will live in security to develop their own genius. It is a vision of what Lloyd George meant when he said: "The Empire is needed for security and the little nations are needed for intensive efforts." They are the choice fruits which have been grown on the tops of the little trees planted in the garden of the Lord; and one of these trees will be the tree of Palestine, the tree of the Jewish nation in the bosom of the British Empire.

(March 27, 1918)

## DEMOCRACY AND THE WAR

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By the HON. CRAWFORD VAUGHAN

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I MUST thank you for the high honor done me in inviting me to address this club, with which I have had in Australia some happy associations. My friend, Mr. Holman, the premier of New South Wales, was your guest, I believe, on a former occasion, and it was through him that I was induced to come to America with a view to presenting to the various audiences, particularly in the United States, the subject of the war from a democratic standpoint. I came for three weeks and I have been here already three months. It has been my privilege to address meetings in something like twenty-three different states, audiences varying from those gathered in Labor Temples up or down, whichever way you look at it, to Legislatures. But wherever I have been, whether speaking to business men or labor men, whether in the shipyards or to women's meetings, there is the same spirit of enthusiasm for the cause of democracy for which we are fighting in this great conflict. I feel at this hour our hearts are too full, and our minds are too occupied with the tremendous convulsion taking place in different parts of the world, where our brothers and sons and comrades are fighting, to speak on any other subject.

This is a war of autocracy versus democracy. This is a war where all those liberties that have come to us right down through the ages, liberties that have been forged on the anvil of self-sacrifice, are in jeopardy. This is a war that calls the spirit of our nation and our race, and I know that it will be as true to-day as it was in the days of Milton. I know that we, in our Dominion, the island continent of Australia, owe the freedom that we possess not to any efforts on our part, but to the efforts of others. I have told the people of the United States and I think I can say this to the people of Canada,

that the father of our freedom was Washington; that the fight for liberty at Bunker Hill gave to us the most precious heritage we possess, the right to govern ourselves. Washington builded better than he knew. He not only placed the United States on a rock of eternal principle, but conferred upon the British Empire a great and blessed heritage, for he taught British statesmen this lesson, never to be forgotten, that an Empire can be held together by bonds of freedom, but it can never be held together by bonds of force. In those days, which are sacred to the people of your neighboring country, they fought against a German king with his German practices and German ideals; and we are happy to remember that as the outcome of that conflict the British Empire was placed upon a new basis. The King was no longer able to dictate to his ministers what policy they should pursue, but the ministers were able, on the part of the nation, to say to the King what should be the policy of the government of the future. Having enjoyed our freedom, and seeing how blessed that freedom is, blessing him that gives and him that takes, we could not stand idly by, with folded arms, when Germany forced her way through into Belgium and trampled freedom there under the iron heel of autocracy. Australia felt with you that Belgium having drawn the sword to fight for what is so precious to us, we should take our stand alongside of her and fight until the bitter end, whatever end that may be. Better a thousand times that our nation should go down in honor, than be sustained by dishonor. That flag of ours is a symbol of liberty, it has brought this blessed gospel of freedom to nations all throughout the earth, and those who assert to the contrary have their answer in the response of the various parts of our far-flung dominions. There is the answer; and I say again that any dishonorable compact entered into with Germany to stand by and allow France to be invaded and Belgium trampled underfoot, and the little nations to perish, would be to our everlasting infamy.

Australia entered into this conflict in some measure prepared. We had there a system of compulsory military training, supported by all parties, put into force, strange as it may seem, by the present Labor Ministry, of which Mr. Hughes was practically the leader. We were able to contribute our

small quota of twenty thousand men to the front, and we little thought then that that quota would grow up into the mighty contribution of four hundred thousand men out of a population of five millions of people. We are still contributing men, although we have not adopted that democratic and just method which you have adopted, the system of the draft. There have been some reasons which have borne weight with our people and induced them to adhere to the voluntary system which, in my opinion, is essentially undemocratic. You and I, and the United States, and Britain believe, with one of the greatest Presidents of the United States, President Garfield, who said: "The nation is not worthy to be saved who in the hour of its fight will not gather up its manhood and go down into the fray, however bloody and doubtful, resolved on ruin or complete success." We believe that when a nation is in peril all men are equal in respect of their responsibilities if they are to stand equal in respect of their rights. How can they share in the benefits of peace without taking upon themselves the duties of war? The nation exists for them, not because of them. The nation is not the outcome of any heroic efforts on the part of the present generation. It is built up by the generations, slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent, by the heroic efforts of the past, the struggles of our fathers, winning liberty and fighting and dying rather than that liberty should perish. These rights have come to us, this nation has come to us, our Empire has come to us, not as something we can barter with, but in trust for the generations yet unborn. We must see to it when the test comes that we are true to the spirit of our fathers, that we maintain that which they maintained. If need be we should go down and die rather than all that they have won shall perish from the earth.

Our hearts go right out to you, sister Dominion with us, in the tremendous sacrifice that you have made, in the sorrow that you have reaped. Linked together with bonds of sympathy, I venture to say that the British Empire is more firmly knit together in this the hour of its trial than it ever was in the hour of its prosperity. The answer to the Kaiser was a magnificent answer. When we think of what he expected and what he has seen, how keen and bitter must be his disappoint-

ment! Germany little expected that Britain would go into the fray, nor, when she did, that this ramshackle Empire would hold together. They thought that Australia, Canada, India, South Africa, would take an early advantage of cutting loose from the Empire. Yet England was able to rally together from every Dominion all the forces of the Empire, and stand four square to every wind that blows. This was not our answer alone, we who have every reason to be attached to the motherland by bonds of affection and the keenest interest. That South Africa, so lightly attached to the British Empire, should rally to the flag, under the gallant leadership of General Botha, is the finest vindication of British rule the Kaiser could wish to have.

It is strange, indeed, how history repeats itself, strange how Germany thought to impose upon the world a condition of things that we thought had been abolished when Charles I lost his head. The divine right of Kings is to-day the gospel of Germanism. There is an attempt to repeat the policy of Frederick, miscalled the Great, who reduced a fair world to a shambles, who, having made a treaty with Austria, without hesitation attacked Silesia, and war flared up in every part of the globe. Frederick, at least, was better than his degenerate successor in that he did not add blasphemy to his other crimes; he did not assert that the spirit of God had descended upon him. Now we do not want to stop Wilhelm from going his own way. But we object to him trying to drag the world with him. This God of his, what kind of a God is it? The one we worship, or a God "made in Germany"? I venture to say that what we are fighting for to-day is the spirit of liberty, of freedom, of doing unto others as we would have them do unto us; the spirit exemplified by the wooden cross of Calvary, against the iron cross upon which mankind is being crucified. When suggestions are made that we should make peace with this aggressor, this man who has deluged the world with blood and whose future would be to deluge it with blood again, who has trampled through the fair fields of Belgium and left them as though the fiends from Hell had passed through, who has made war on women and children, sunk ships without warning, murdered priests, old men and women, and who wants to spread this culture against our

democracy throughout all the world,—we say, there can be no peace with a pestilence! Can the Devil and the Almighty shake hands? Can Hell and Heaven send emissaries to sit around a table and discuss terms? Whisperings are about in the land with the idea of undermining the morale of our nation which is behind the morale of our army. Some of those who talk of peace as eternal warfare against evil should realize that the Kaiser is the very spirit of evil, the spirit of oppression.

Let me ask you if we have not a parallel in history drawn from the Civil War in America. You remember that when the question of slavery was first brought forward, Lincoln said that if the States of the South desired slavery they were entitled to have it. He would not interfere; though he was personally opposed to it. Later, he said that the Southern States had shown that slavery was more than an institution, that it was the spirit of evil, and it could not be confined in any geographical limits, but sought to overspread the neighboring States. Then Lincoln said, "a nation cannot live half slave and half free," and for four bitter years they fought that freedom might triumph, and in the end slavery was abolished. Slavery had become a menace to the freedom of the Northern States, to the United States itself, and it had to go. Either slavery had to go and democracy had to triumph, or slavery had to triumph. And we have said to Germany that if she wants autocracy she has the right to have it. Governments derive their rights from the consent of the governed. So long as it confined autocracy to its own boundaries we had nothing to do with it, but when it spread, when it became a spirit of evil and it challenged the world, when it said "*Deutschland über alles*," when it sought to impose its culture upon all mankind, then we said it becomes a menace to our democracy; and just as the North took up the challenge against the South, we took up the challenge against Germany, and this war must be fought to a finish. Lowell said: "They enslave their children's children, who compromise with sin," and to make a peace now with an international bandit would be simply to ask for a renewal of this conflict in five or ten years from now, when Russia has recovered; but if we go on now, never losing heart and faith, we shall win, we must win. The danger to us is less from German bullets than from German propaganda. Where did

Germany beat Russia? Not on the firing line but behind her line, by propaganda. Where did she beat Italy? Not by defeating the valiant troops along the Italian front, but again by corruption and by intrigue. To-day she is seeking to undermine us through the medium of some well-meaning pacifists and some evil-minded pacifists, seeking to undermine the morale of the nation that stands behind the men in the firing line. We are taking pro-Germanism in hand now. In my own city we have closed fifty German schools and told the scholars to go to a British school to have a British education, because these German schools are the centers of German propaganda. This is a regular scheme from Berlin, seeking to set up little Imperialistic groups throughout the world.

I have come to tell you something about Australia, of what we have done and what we intend to do. I can only say this as regards our attitude upon that great question which as I know occupies your thoughts, that question of conscription, that while Australia did not endorse the policy which some of us thought essential for the winning of this war, it cannot be taken to intimate that Australia is not whole-heartedly standing side by side with Canada, with Britain, with the United States and France and Belgium in this war, until it is ended. In the first place, when the first referendum was taken and lost, some people imagined that that meant that the Government which stood for conscription must be overthrown; and three months after that vote, having a majority in the Senate at that time, the anti-conscriptionists decided to put it to the test: and they never regretted anything so much. When that test was put to the people the result was that the Conscriptionist Government, led by Premier Hughes, won every senate seat in every state, eighteen out of eighteen. That was the answer as to whether Australia stood behind the war or not. The Government was enthroned in power by a larger majority than ever before. On the second occasion, after conscription was again defeated, Mr. Hughes offered to resign, but the leader of the Opposition thought discretion the better part of valor and did not want to have the same treatment as was meted out to him in February, 1917, so he refused to run. Australia stands behind you right to the end. Australia has suffered, and she has resolved that those men who have died for liberty shall not have died in vain.

I think one of our Australian men very well typified what the soldier feels to those who do not respond to the call to do their duty. A friend of mine came back wounded badly from Gallipoli and as he limped ashore he was met by one of his old workmates who shook him by the hand. This fellow had never done anything to win the war, but he wanted to reap the glory. Shaking the hand of my friend, he said: "Herb, I *am* glad to see you back again, old boy. We are winning, ain't we?" And Herb looked him up and down and as he turned away he said: "Who the 'ell's *we*?" One sees the same spirit expressed by the Canadian soldier and by the United States soldier. An old lady in London who saw the Canadian soldiers marching side by side with the Australians said: "There ain't no difference between them at all. The only difference is that the Australian's got a feather in his hat." It is a good thing that we can and they can, at the front, take things so cheerfully. I remember hearing a lady who had returned only last week from doing Red Cross work at the front telling a story of the British Tommies who had taken German prisoners, lining them up and ordering them to take off their gas masks, and professing profoundest astonishment when the Germans told them they had no gas masks on! Behind all that is their deep resolution to win and to win out, that resolution expressed in the last few days by the death of some of the noblest men the countries have ever sent to the front. We think of England, of her sacrifices. We think of that dear old Mother, whom I have never had the opportunity of seeing, but to whom I feel drawn by the deepest ties of affection, and by that love of liberty which has spread throughout every part of the British Dominions. I think of the women of England as I think of the women here, of their sacrifice, of what they have done, and I say that a nation cannot perish while the women stand behind as they have done in this great country and in ours.

While this devotion is essential, the gate to victory at this hour is ships. We must have transportation, and it was for that purpose that I asked permission of the United States Government to go into the shipyards of America in order to help speed up shipbuilding. While we possessed an immense amount of tonnage and have been steadily building, we have

less now than we had when the war broke out. We need to build ten million tons next year if we are to transport all the men to France from the United States and to do our usual import business. I do not see that it can be done. Something will have to go—most likely the import trade, unless we are able to build more ships, speed up production and so assist in bringing this war to a shorter and more humane conclusion than will be the case otherwise. We must concentrate on the things that are necessary, and in aiming for the building of ships we shall be doing our best to help win this war.

And I take this opportunity of expressing to you at least some of the democratic sentiments which I know find room in the hearts and in the minds and in the very souls of the Australian people. Have no fear as to where they stand. That flag of ours waves beside yours at the front and will wave, and we will stand by and fight right to the end; for better, nobler far to die than that liberty should perish from the earth. Freedom, to the German mind, may be a mere myth, contrasted with the substantial rewards of autocracy. But we are the race of which Milton spoke, who made freedom the symbol of civilization; and we will not allow it to perish.

(April 1st, 1918)

## THE FOOD SITUATION

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By DR. J. W. ROBERTSON

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**I** THANK you for the warmth of your reception, and for the opportunity of speaking to you on this occasion, to remind you of the extreme gravity of the food situation, which threatens our side with disaster, even if we get through these anxious weeks with reasonable safety. I am to present to you a brief outline of what this Province intends to do, in accordance with an agreement drawn up between myself, representing the Dominion Government and the Canada Food Board, and the Provincial Department of Agriculture, for immensely increased production in Quebec this year. That is necessary to save our side from disaster. I cannot say anything that will represent in its broad verities the gravity of the shortage of food on our side. Mine is a very simple duty. I am not here to persuade you, or stir your emotions, or to deepen the fervor of your devotion to patriotic causes. I am here to serve you, by helping you to understand and again to understand and then again to understand, that we are up against the most dangerous situation that has faced our side since the war began, because we have not food enough for our armies and our civilian population. The scarcity is much worse in Italy and France than it is in Great Britain. The Mother Country is reasonably safe, but she is sharing her meagre quantities with her Allies. In France, which is a bread-eating country, the big crops before the war were wheat and potatoes and sugar beets, *i.e.* bread, vegetables and sugar. The crop of wheat in France last year was 62 per cent. of the average before the war, and the land is becoming increasingly weedy for want of horse power and man power to perform thorough cultivation. Potatoes show just as poor a crop. Taking all the foodstuffs grown in France including vegetables,

62 per cent. was grown last year as compared with pre-war times. Italy is still worse off; and as I said before, the Mother country is sharing her meagre supplies with these two Allies who are in worse straits than she is. In England people know that bread is scarce; but we do not. We do not understand. There has come a time when we cannot say: "There is bread enough in my mother's house." It is not there. No one in England or Scotland now gets more than half as much bread as he used to. It is not there, and yet we do not understand. We do not go shares. We do not eat less. We do not understand how dire the danger is, and we are living in the midst of so much abundance that it is hard to visualize the real facts and act accordingly. In Great Britain nobody gets more than half as much beef or mutton as they used to get. It is not there, it cannot be got. Yet we do not make any difference here. Speaking for myself, I tried to make a difference. I eat most of my meals outside of my own house, but I have not seen beef in my house since a year ago. I know how dire the need of food is, and yet I go to hotels and see food wasted. It is not so long ago that I walked down the street here in this city and saw two garbage cans exposed, and right on top was a big chunk of bread as big as my fist. In England anybody putting such a piece of bread in a garbage can would be fined fifty pounds. That is the smallest fine. A friend of mine had a letter from a fellow in France who had been punished because two potatoes and half a roll were found in the garbage can of his company. Somebody in his company had failed in their duty as regards waste. We do not understand these things here; but we are coming to understand, and when we do, we will take hold of the thing as fully as anybody—when we do.

Bread is cheap in Britain, much cheaper than it is here. How comes it that in Britain bread is cheap and in Canada it is dear, although we are supplying the wheat? Because Britain is a democracy. We think we are and we say we are, and we are becoming so. It is the highest form liberty-loving people can devise, yet is most difficult to maintain in war times, and likely to be rather ineffective in carrying on war. If the British people in the large cities could not get cheap bread they would shake the foundations of any government in power.

That was recognized at the beginning of the war, and you can buy bread in any city of England for four and a half cents per pound, made from our wheat, plus all the extras that have to be paid. Our wheat, made into the flour, is sold to every and any baker at a price that enables them to compel him to sell bread at four and a half cents per pound, so that people shall have cheap bread. It cost two hundred millions last year to subsidize the bread industry. Bread is cheap and scarce in England, and the people are down to half of what they got before. The Allies look to us to see them through. There is no other source accessible and safe except this continent.

Now how much do they need? not want, but need? I do not wish to burden you with figures, but I want to try to make an impression that you will understand and carry away with you. They need from this continent 360 million bushels more than they used to get in times of peace. I think they will get it. I have been in the States and I have come back lifted up with gratitude for the great things that people is doing in behalf of our cause and their own. They have organized and organized to get the last bushel of grain they can produce on the land with the labor they have. The Allies require, even on reduced rations, with half the rations they usually receive, chiefly for their armies and munition workers, two million tons, or 39 per cent. more; and they cannot get it if we only produce as much as we used to, and eat as much as we used to, and waste as much as we used to. We shall have to remedy our ways in regard to producing and eating and wasting, and then we will save the situation. Baron Rhondda sent a message lately to us in which he said that the allied larder was dangerously empty, and that they were relying on the people of North America to save the food situation. "Great Britain," he said, "relies on the United States and Canada for 65 per cent. of her essential food supplies. Unless she gets this food we shall peter out." I have not read anything that made me so grave as that, coming from a responsible man. To think that all the effort and all the heroism and all the price paid so far would be wasted if we do not get that 65 per cent. of food over to Great Britain! We cannot afford that, if we can help it by producing and controlling and saving. Why didn't we know sooner? Well, men at the heart of things did

know, but then we were in the midst of so much abundance that the people would not heed. I say to you if we do not heed men of vision and responsibility, neither would we be moved although a dead soldier of our own came from the fields of Flanders and said: "You men are putting in peril all we have died to save." Men of vision are saying: "We are short, we are short." That ought to suffice for action.

What are the causes that have led to so grave a situation? We were blinded by the great success of our agriculture two years after the war. That is what hurt our cause and put us in this grave predicament. Nay, worse than predicament. We are in danger of irretrievable disaster. The crops of 1915 were so large that all during 1916, two years after the war began, there was plenty everywhere. People began to think and say: "This scare for greater production is all so much talk, like the war ending at the end of the first three months for lack of money." The crop of 1916, after our riotous use of the big crops of 1915, showed only two thousand million bushels short, and we had to live on that last year and it did not go around and we ate up all our reserves. That is where we are at now. All our reserves are gone, and we are down to about two-thirds of what we should have and we must make up the difference. It is a bad prospect for recovery in those other lands. There are six million men on our side, off the land, fighting, and men and women in munition plants consuming on a scale they never consumed before, and needing that strong food for the tasks they have to do. Fertilizer is not available for the old crop lands, so we have very small crops over there. Our own Northwest is stripped so bare for labor that we can only raise about half the crop we ought to. The men and horses cannot cope with the situation. In regard to cattle the prospect is no better. Of the big producing animals, cattle, sheep, swine, there is in the world a reduction so great that 150 million less head are living than were living in 1913.

The thing is so grave that I think I cannot do justice to the situation. If the Lord does not bless us this year with crops on our side, even with all the effort we can make, millions will starve to death. Every man here must grow something this year. It is not a question any more of leisure, it is a question of the war calling for a man to do his best here, the

very same as if he were in France or Flanders. It is not what you would like to do in your leisure time, but what the occasion demands; otherwise our side stands a grave risk of losing, and the responsibility rests on us. People say, nobody can do very much. No, nobody can do very much, but the personal effort of individuals is the only way of getting more food. By one hill of potatoes and one single yard of wheat, that is the only route to saving the situation. If we do not get out and do that, it will serve us right to starve to death. I would rather starve—I have lived my life and I have done nearly all I expected to do—than deprive the men over there of the things they want and need to carry this thing through. Single plants and again single bites. The law cannot make me stop eating, but the law of my own spirit and conscience can make me eat less of the things the armies need. Every man must be a missionary, just as I am, and get the same pay—nothing. The Food Controller did a good deal. He was blamed for the things he did not do and for the things he did do. The women of Canada did a great deal of good with their voluntary campaign, and the Food Controller did a little by compulsory regulation of hotels. As far as I could learn, in January, owing to these two things, the consumption of three necessities flour, fat and bacon, was so reduced as to make enough available to supply an army of five hundred thousand men, the biggest achievement of food control we have had. The women will improve on that all the time as they gain experience and learn the greater need.

Now every farmer in Canada is going to be visited this spring by a neighboring farmer. It is rather a big job, but there is no other way. Eastern Canada, the section of the country over which I am organizing, and for which I am responsible, has 450,000 farmers and we expect that more than four hundred thousand of them this spring will be visited, before the seed is put in, by another farmer who will try to help him to understand. If he does understand, the same working force, his men, his family, his horses and his machines, the same working force will come through with bigger crops, I am convinced. Touch a man's convictions, move a man's sense of responsibility, and he will mount the altar of sacrifice. If a man has lost a boy or if he believes the cause is great beyond expression, you can say to him: "John, all

we have done is lost unless we win through on food. Could you not grow an acre or two or three more this Spring?" and John will say: "By God, I will do it." We expect from these farmers two million acres more this year this side of the Great Lakes. The objective for the Province of Quebec has been set at 600,000 acres, and the Minister of Agriculture tells me that it is his opinion that Quebec will go past its objective and that it will go farther than any of the four other provinces. We have created a special department, a Bureau of Increased Production, and Mr. Charron, who is here, is the head of this Department. I have renewed confidence in the efficiency of the Bureau because Mr. Charron is its chief, and the Minister of Agriculture is enthusiastic in behalf of his Province and is devoting himself to this great task. We are organizing men to visit their neighbors to tell them of the gravity of the situation. They will meet with lots of statements of difficulties. Anyone who knows the present situation knows that it bristles with difficulties. There is the want of labor everywhere and want of fertilizer and sometimes want of sympathy and want of interest. There are any number, any variety, any extent of difficulties. But you know life is just made up of overcoming difficulties and obstacles. War is life raised to its highest power of endurance in overcoming difficulties; and if we recognize, on the farm and in the city, that we are at war, that we are not living our usual lives, but that now is our opportunity and our duty to overcome new difficulties, while we cannot create labor, the labor that is here can do more by being better organized and better supported. By a courageous heart, and by the good will of everybody, it will come through; and with more results because it wants to and intends to and believes that it will do it, just as the fellows at the front do the impossible.

I was over there and I saw what they did. No man, no description, no book could have made me believe that flesh and blood could have taken the places which they did from the Germans. The success of the war has been in doing what seems the impossible thing. When the farmers come to realize the situation they will take a hand. The farm will respond with more acres and bigger crops. You men can create a general feeling that we are all in it together, and that you will be glad to give them any help that you can. We must meet new

conditions with a change of spirit, and dedicate ourselves to a new kind of living, on the farm and in the cities; and that is what I am speaking for now. I did not come to-day to utter a single syllable of persuasion, but just to show you that old things have passed away and all things have become new, requiring new treatment, new convictions, new kinds of heroism and new kinds of sacrifice, otherwise we cannot win the war. This week has been proclaimed as a week to prepare every man in the province, that he may think what he can do to help the farmers to get their seeds ready, prepare their machinery, lest half a day lost in the spring should put our harvest in peril. Some of you will remember with me back to the old days in Scotland, when we had a week set apart for preparation for Sacrament Sunday, and how solemn and how sincere that preparation was, to be ready for the occasion. I want that spirit in every man's mind and heart this week, to be ready for the summer with its crops.

We have men and munitions enough, I think, but we have a shortage in food, and the situation is not in hand yet. We want people to help in the fields, people from the villages and towns, to help in haying and mowing and at harvest time, men like yourselves to volunteer to help the farmers. In Nova Scotia I have spoken to the legislature and to all the mayors and all the wardens, and that province will come through. So will New Brunswick. The other day in New Brunswick, after the meeting, a man came up to me and said: "Robertson, I want to tell you that if you can find any farmers that need seed or fertilizer and cannot get it themselves, why I have got \$500 saved up. You can have it until the fall and if anybody fails to pay the loss is on me." That is a good investment. It is up to the men in the cities to stand back of the man at the farm, to become not a silent but an active partner, to help him get the results. The Government is doing a good deal that way. We are getting the boys, fifteen or over, to become soldiers of the soil for three months' work on the farms; and many a man who has had some experience lately of farm life regrets that he did not in his youth spend some summers on the farm with live stock and crops. It does the boys good, and these 25,000 boys that we expect to work for three months in Canada, will help us save the situation. There will be competitions in this province for the

farmer who has the largest percentage of crops, etc., and there will be more supervision and encouragement for vacant lot cultivation and yard gardens. Even if all this is done we shall only come through for the time being. There is not any prospect at all, to those of us who have some knowledge of these things,—judging from conditions of farming in the Allied countries, conditions of labor, from the needs of the war,—of our getting away from the risk of famine for three years on our side, if we had peace this week. There is not the food and we cannot get it. If we got an inconclusive peace, we would be still worse off. The enemy's ships would be free while ours would be carrying troops.

The plans we are making for this summer will be improved for next year and again the year after; and then we may thank the Almighty that our own blindness was not permitted to wreck us utterly because we would not understand. Nobody has the right to stand aloof, I least of anybody, and tell the farmer what not to do and what to do. He needs help; and when he understands, he and his wife and family will do everything that flesh and blood and an unfaltering spirit can perform. I honor these men on the farms, with their early and late, tiresome toil, unsympathetic surroundings. I know some of the fellows who have gone from the farms in this province. I saw a regiment of them, half of them from farms, marching in from Albert for Courcellette, and on looking at their faces I began to realize what a transfiguration can take place in the human countenance when a man is dedicated to a great cause. Those are the fellows we want to see through by finding the food. It is not dramatic, it is not romantic, but it is desperately necessary; and because it is a sacrifice of that sort that is asked of us, it requires all the more continuity of effort and determination on our part to do it, and not a man in this room is less responsible than I am. In fact this issue may shape your whole success in life, for all we know. We hope that those 400,000 farmers whom we will reach this side of the Great Lakes will be a sustaining army, helping us to save the situation, and I pray that the blessing of the Almighty rest upon their labors, that He will lighten their heavy tasks and crown those labors with a saving harvest. Then every man who has helped will have, not glory, but the satisfaction of knowing that he too did his best.

(April 5th, 1918)

## CHINA, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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By CHANG PO LING

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**I**F you wanted this subject to be discussed exhaustively you would have to stay here for at least three years, because we have a history going back four thousand five hundred years. But let me simply tell you something about the past of China, so as to help you to understand the present China; and also tell you some tendencies which are noticeable in the China of to-day, and then we can infer what will become of the future of China.

About four thousand years ago there were some good kings of China—especially one king name Yao. He did not give his throne to his son, but to his Minister. He did this because he thought his Minister could do better service to the people; and this Minister in his turn also gave his throne to his minister, for the same reason. This will show you that four thousand years ago the most fundamental institution of the government of China was democratic. The government was for the people, not for the king or emperor, until Confucius' time, 2,400 years ago. There were many philosophers in the time of Confucius. They held different opinions, but they were all tolerated up to 2,000 years ago, when the Feudal System became dominant. From that time, China has had its Dark Ages, until the latter part of the nineteenth century—dark ages for the people, but bright ages for the Emperors. They made the teachings of Confucius formal. They were not originally formal at all, but they made them so; and their object is and always was to make the people obedient, so that they would not rise against their Emperors. They only allowed their people to interpret the teachings of Confucius along that line. They did not tolerate any other philosophy except the teaching of Confucius, until about a thousand years

ago, when they changed the old way of selecting the officers for the Civil Service. Formerly they had been elected by the people; but about a thousand years ago the Emperor thought the best way was to have a certain kind of examination. This required that a student should write a certain prescribed form of essay. I wrote one myself about twenty-five years ago. Some of the scholars compare this system to the foot-binding of the Chinese ladies. The Emperor would only allow the candidates to think one way. For this reason the educated class grew to be very formal in their thinking. They dared not think otherwise. This is why the Chinese society has been made stagnant for these two thousand years, just like Europe in the Dark Ages.

Now, China did not have any foreign intercourse and all the people living around China had lower civilizations. They did not have anything like the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which helped the European people to understand the outside world, or the discovery of America, which gave Europeans a new aspect of the world. So the people always thought that China was the centre of the world. Their thinking power was not developed until sixty years ago, until they began to have intercourse with Westerners. The first thing the Chinese began to realize was that their fighting was inferior; but until recently they did not change their social and political life. You see these different stages. At first we thought that the Westerners were only superior in fighting; later on we believed the Westerners knew how to control nature, but we thought they were morally inferior; and only recently we noticed that even in social and political questions we must learn too. About seven years ago we had an outbreak of revolution in China. From that time on we have not had any settled government. Probably the people of other nations think that the Chinese are not ready for the Republican form of government. This is why I have often been asked by American friends: "Do you think that the Republican form of Government will stand in China, can stand in China?" It is very hard to answer, but look at the question differently. The Manchu Emperor was put off the throne seven years ago by the people. Then Yuan Shi Kai tried to make himself Emperor, but failed. The people did not like that—they

liked the Republican form of government; it was not because they did not like Yuan Shi Kai. No Chinese will try to become the Emperor in future, because they know they could not do it. The people do not like that. Of course, on the other hand, you may ask, are the Chinese people ready for the representative form of government? I may answer no, because of their lack of education. It is not the people's fault, it is the fault of the old system, of the Emperors I have mentioned; because they did not like the people to have education, to be taught intelligently. They were afraid if the people knew all about things they would not like to be governed by the Emperor.

But we have problems to face, and we cannot go back. It is impossible to put a Manchu Emperor on to the throne again. No, no one believes that, and no Chinese can be an Emperor, as I said before. We have only two alternatives, either we must try to make our country a strong Republican country, or we must be dominated by foreign powers. No one of the Chinese would like the latter, but they have to face one of these alternatives. At the present time, I suppose you know we are having political disturbances, we are having revolution after revolution. We are having the fourth or fifth revolution now, and no one can tell how many we are going to have; but I can guarantee one thing, that in all of these the result is in favor of democracy. The heads of the two political parties in China are Doctor Sun Yat Sen and Yuan Shi Kai. Doctor Sun Yat Sen is the head of the Radical party, and of course they are fighting for the people. Yuan Shi Kai, who is the head of the Conservative party in China at the present time, was a political offender under the Manchu dynasty, seventeen years ago. The Premier who is head of the military party now, was the man who influenced the Manchu Emperor to abdicate. Both these men are considered conservative now. I really believe they do not like the monarchical system of Government; but they are fighting for a principle, and that is autocracy. I have friends on both sides, I know both sides very well, and they are both, I think, very patriotic. What the conservatives are fighting for now is a principle; they claim that the people are not fitted for democracy, that they ought to have a strong central government to control them. The other party believe that if the people could

have a chance to grow, to develop, then we should be a strong nation in future, and unless we have our people well-developed we shall always be a weak nation. As I said, however, the result of each revolution is a gain for democracy. Those who are holding power in China are beginning to know that they are fighting against the will of the people and are beginning to change their minds. Moreover, their numbers are decreasing as some of the leaders have been taken away in the course of nature. Fortunately, the young generation, those who have the new education, say that we must have democratic government first, and then we will have equality. I think this is the most important thing for the Chinese to learn, and the most important thing which they have learned from the Westerners. I really believe that. I do not consider the Western civilization any higher than the Chinese, but they know certain things which our people must learn. Unless people are treated equally, unless we have democracy then we cannot have any permanent peace or justice within a nation, or between nations. No!

In my life I have seen many changes in China. I may relate to you a few of the changes. As I said, for several thousand years there were no changes in China, these changes of which I speak have been made in the last twenty years. I have seen them myself. Last summer, during the vacation, I read a novel which was written about six or seven hundred years ago, describing the institutions and customs of the people about eight hundred years ago, and I find that everything was exactly the same then as when I was a boy. But in the last twenty years rapid changes have been going on. Materially, the Chinese have adopted Western ideas. You know the Chinese are beginning to change their clothes now, and another remarkable change is that they are cutting off their queues. I used to wear a queue myself. I had it cut off. And the foot-binding is gradually given up. The girls under ten in big cities do not have their feet bound; one reason for this is that the schools do not admit girls now who have their feet bound. But the greatest change I have seen in my time is in the thinking of the people, because the thinking of the young men will result in the action of the future. What are they thinking. They are thinking of equality of men, of

abolishing all the injustice, inequality and autocracy. But this is going on only among the educated people of China. The mass of the people do not understand that. It is our duty to educate them along these lines. I used to say to my young men: "We are responsible for them, because we have been trained, we have the privilege of being educated in this way, we have seen the world, we have been educated by our old history, and so on, so we are responsible for changing the condition of the people, that they in turn may change the condition in the country. The mass of the people are ignorant. They are not to blame. The older people have not had any chance. We are the people who are responsible for them. We have to work for them."

The Chinese have something to give to the world. Our natural resources have been preserved by an old superstition. The Chinese people believed that the spirit of wind and water watched over them, and men dared not take them. That is the reason why all the natural resources have been preserved for us, and we have to develop them to supply our own use as well as the use of the world. Then there is labor. You know the Chinese man power is abundant, and China ought to help the world with their labor. Of course many of you do not like the Chinese to come in; you prevent them from coming, just like an epidemic of infectious disease. That is how you look at them; but I hope the Chinese will help the world with their labor, because they are fond of work, they are willing to work. Last of all, they can contribute to the world some inventions. I believe the Chinese have brains as their ancestors had. Their ancestors taught the world how to print; they invented the compass, and—I hardly like to mention it—gunpowder.

Now, fortunately, the Chinese people, during this two thousand years which I call the Dark Ages, have been trained to have some very good passive virtues. They are very patient. They are obedient, industrious, economical. We must keep those as a background, and add to them some active virtues. What are the active virtues we want? Progress, the spirit of change. To make them change in order to suit the situation. Then they ought to be taught patriotism, because they do not care for the public affairs of the country. They ought to be taught that they are not living for themselves alone, nor for

their families alone, but for the community, for the nation as well. Nor can one nation stand alone in this world, it must have relations with other nations; so internationalism ought to be taught to them, because they must not think that the people of other nations are enemies. They are helpers. We can help each other, why not? This is the hope of young China.

(April 8th, 1918)

## BRITAIN AND THE WAR

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By THE MOST REV. COSMO GORDON LANG, D.D.,  
(Archbishop of York)

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I ONLY wish that I felt more able to do justice to the cordiality of your welcome and to the numbers in which you have met me. But you cannot expect too much of a man who has been driven as I have been driven during these last five weeks. When I tell you that this is the seventy-fourth address which I have given in that time, and that I must now have addressed something like ninety thousand citizens of the two halves of North America, you will realize that it is difficult for me to be as fresh and pointed as I would wish; but in spite of this I was determined, within the limits of the time allowed to me, that if possible I should have the chance of visiting Montreal. It meant some negotiating, indeed some obstinacy on my part; but I am rejoiced this afternoon to see that I have succeeded in my wish. I had a personal desire to see Montreal for the first time. I well remember my sensations when, about ten years ago, I opened the *Times* in my house in London when I was Bishop of Stepney, and read the announcement that I had been elected Bishop of Montreal. It was followed by a later cablegram which confirmed the news, and bade me wait for a few days before I took in the full measure of the overwhelming honor which had been offered to me. I remember receiving letters, among others from one whom I hope will always be remembered in Canada with affection, one of the most chivalrous and buoyant and noble-hearted Englishmen who ever came to Canada. I mean my friend, the late Lord Grey. Another distinguished Canadian who also, I am sure, retains the affection and respect of his fellow-countrymen, Lord Strathcona, waited for days almost upon my doorsteps; and in order to save you the blushes which I fear

you could not prevent mantling upon your brows. I will not tell you what Lords Grey and Strathcona and many others said about the city and the people of Montreal. But I feel that apart from these personal reasons I could not be satisfied if I crossed the ocean again without meeting some of the citizens of this great center of Imperial sentiment and of loyalty to the tremendous cause in which our nations are concerned.

I have often, during these last five weeks in the United States, in the morning rubbed my eyes with perplexity as to how it should have come to pass that an ecclesiastic like myself should be engaged in this mission to the people of America. But I have found overwhelmingly in the United States that this is a time when there is great advantage in words being spoken by a man like myself whose office gives him independence of all political ideas, and who can speak on behalf of the plain citizen of his country. For we have all realized that the war in which we are engaged is not primarily a war of navies or armies, but it is a war of nations; and the issues of it will really depend upon the spirit and endurance of the citizens.

We cannot forget that we meet at what is, I suppose, beyond all doubt, the very central crisis of the most tremendous struggle in which the nations of the world have ever been engaged. As we are here assembled, our fellow-countrymen, the sons it may be of many of those to whom I am speaking, are standing at bay against the power of the enemy, and with heroic resistance are holding up the hopes and the fortunes of the civilizations of the world. Therefore I must needs have in my mind when I am speaking to you that I, as representing the old country, and you as representing the great destinies of Canada, meet together at a moment when it is literally true that everything that we hold most dear, everything that we have received from our fathers and would wish to hand on to our children, is trembling in the balance.

You are, I know, concerned not so much with any pride for what you have done, as with a deep desire and ambition to be able to do even more. Yet, speaking on behalf of the British Isles, I must say in your presence that you will never know what it meant to us in the first days of the war, to know that we had the heart of Canada, as of Australia and New

Zealand and South Africa, beating with us in the great and most difficult enterprise into which we were forced. No one who went through that first week in August, 1914, will ever forget what it meant to us to find that a great moral impulse bound every class and party and section of our community together in one irresistible force. Thrust out from our anchorage of peace into the unknown seas of war, we had then and at once the knowledge that that impulse was shared by all our fellow-countrymen in the great, free commonwealth of nations that makes the British Empire. May I also say, I feel that I must, how constant has been our gratitude and admiration for the valor of your sons across the seas. It may bring me perhaps nearer to you if I say that I have had the great honor and good fortune of seeing your men at the front only last summer. I shall never forget the sensation of passing under Vimy Ridge and then hearing, borne by the evening breeze, that sound which no Scotsman can ever hear without a stirring of his heart, the sound of the only great war music in the world, the sound of the pipes. I can not tell you all that was said to me by a soldier whom you will always regard as one who had a great place in the making of your army, Sir Julian Byng. I will not tell you what he said about the way in which your men, free men, loving your independence, had seen what discipline meant, and carried that additional strength into all the fervor and gallantry of their fighting. I shall always like to think and tell any company of Canadians that when I stood upon Vimy Ridge and was thinking what Canada had done for the Empire and for freedom, I was warned that although the Germans had not been shelling Vimy Ridge for some weeks they were keeping a vigilant eye upon it, and that they would wonder what this strange black thing was that stood out against the sunset of the evening sky. No sooner were these words said than this black speck attracted the vigilant eyes of the enemy and in quick succession came seven German shells; and I shall always remember—and here is where my soldier friends must forgive the civilian—as one of the great honors of my life that I stood side by side with Canadian soldiers, being shelled by German shells on Vimy Ridge.

You will realize that from Vimy Ridge and from the other

battlefields where Canadians have fought and died, there comes to us at this time of crisis an appeal which it is impossible for us to resist: "Do not think of us. We were proud to have the chance to fight in a great fight and die an honorable death, and all we ask is that you in Canada, in the old country, throughout the world, wherever freedom is valued, will carry on the task which we have thus far been able to advance." We in the old country will not come behind the spirit of our younger daughters, or shall I say sisters, across the sea; but we are—there is no denying it—getting tired. It has been a terrible strain. You have nobly taken your part in sending all the strength of your manhood to the service of our cause; but you will not forget that of the seven and a half millions of men whom the British Empire has been able to send into the struggle, no less than four and a half millions have been contributed by Old England. I am not likely to forget what our Scottish regiments have done, what gallant little Wales has done. I do not forget what Ireland, in spite of many difficulties, through some of the bravest of her sons, has done for the common cause. I shall always remember my feelings when I stood on the spot where William Redmond laid down his life; and afterwards, at the grave whither his body was borne with every mark of respect and affection by an Ulster Regiment. Though I cannot forget these things, it is only right to say—because the Englishman talks very little about himself—that we must never forget the splendid fighting power of the lads from our old English shires and the men from our Yorkshire pits and our Lancashire mills, who quietly and steadfastly have been at the back of all this fighting, and are standing there still with a gallantry, a persistence, a humility and a determination worthy of the best traditions of their race.

Of course we would not be true to these traditions if we were not all this while exercising our birthright of grumbling. Sometimes these grouches have taken awkward shapes; there have been moments of difficulty and of anxiety. But I know I can say this that the instinct of our people at home in every class has never for one moment wavered in its allegiance to that constraining moral power which made them in August, 1914, decide once and for all that the honor of Great Britain

was involved, and that we must stand fast till the end. I think the spirit of our people is perhaps not inadequately expressed in the words of one of our characteristic British soldiers at the front, when after I had delivered a more than usually eloquent patriotic address to them one of them stood up and said to me: "It is all very fine, I know; but we are about fed up with all that. All we know is that we are going to grumble about our food to the end, and the one thing we want to do is to get 'ome to the missis and the kids; but we're here and here we mean to stay. We shall stick to it and see it through." But there is just one way in which the spirit of our people is being affected, of which perhaps I ought to say a word. I have spoken of English birthrights, the birthright of grumbling, the birthright of freedom. There is another which the Englishman has always prized, the birthright of bacon all week and beef on Sunday. It is one to which he has a right, for our climate is not like yours, and our work is equally hard and I think harder than yours. At the present time, it is not possible for a man to put his spirit into his work and carry it through, and be ready to meet all the terrible demands of output which are made upon our arsenal, which is the industry of our nation, if there is continually at home a shortage of the food which has hitherto been provided with to put strength and vigor into his limbs. In England at the present time men with plenty of money find that with all the money they have they cannot buy a sufficiency of food. If it is hard for the workman it is even more hard for his wife at home; very hard from time to time to be compelled to do violence to what is the very first instinct of a mother's heart, and to refuse to her children the food for which they are hungry. That is why I know that here in Canada—where you have still great resources of your own for your own use, and are, in spite of all your voluntary self-sacrifice, never going to feel the pinch as our people are feeling it at home,—you will do everything that is in your power to save food which can be shipped across the seas. Even by your voluntary self-sacrifice, the results of which it is perhaps difficult for individuals to realize, you will show us how deeply your hearts are with us, and that you are denying yourselves in order that your own spirit may do something to cheer and to hearten the spirit of your fellow-citizens in the old country.

And there is one other thing that I would like to say about our life at home at the present time. I know there must be of you, scarcely a man old enough to be the father of a grown-up family, who have not one or more sons living or dead in the great chivalry of service. Some of them must already have known what it means to have given a son of their loins and of their heart for their country, and they will understand what that means to the strength of their spirit. Your casualties have been great in proportion to your population, comparable only to ours; but the greater volume of casualties in England and Scotland has been very hard for the spirit of our people to bear. Remember that within the first three months of the struggle our casualties were mounting from two to seven thousand a day, and that has been going on at intervals ever since for nearly all these four years. It is therefore, I think, the more striking that though little is said and hardly any fine words are heard about it, the loss is being borne by our people with a silent and wonderful tenacity of spirit. I am sure that both here and over the way we would wish especially as a company of men to express our gratitude for the splendor of the spirit in which our women have borne losses that have touched them to the quick.

I mention these things because they bring us to the point where we now stand. We have reached what may be called the second and probably the decisive stage in this struggle. We now know, more clearly than we could have done when the war burst upon us, what it is that is at stake. We now know both the strangeness and the certainty of the fact that there is a spirit, strongly intrenched in great material resources, which is challenging the freedom and the peace of the world. I find it myself very necessary over and over again to test the rhetoric of war. From the beginning of time nations when they went to war have buoyed themselves up by the use of fine phrases about truth and justice and freedom and right, and very often they have known that what they were saying was not true, and they have known that hardly anybody else thought it was true either; and yet the longer and more closely one looks at what is now at issue in the world, and the more suspiciously one tests the desire to bolster up the cause of one's country by great appeals to morality, the more certain

one is—and it is very strange that you and I should be living to see this thing—that there is a spirit, very powerful and determined, which is fatal to the future of civilization and to freedom and peace. There is a spirit lusting for the dominion of the world, which if it prevailed would make commerce in every country a great conspiracy, would make diplomacy one long and elaborate deceit, would make military power a perpetual menace to the freedom and tranquility of every nation. It is quite impossible for the free peoples of the world to settle down for the task appointed to them, by their own effort and service to lift the lot of the common people, unless and until it has been made once and for all clear that the spirit now in arms, responsible to history for plunging the European nations into this awful war, is destroyed. This concerns our old countries closely; but I think it concerns these new countries more closely still. Supposing that Great Britain were proved by this war to have reached her zenith and to be called upon to give way to new and strange powers, at least though no Briton would ever afterwards be able to live without shame upon his face and sorrow in his heart, he could at least sustain himself with the memory of the great things that his people for long centuries had been able to do. But a new country like Canada, whose eyes are directed to the horizon of the future, if she were deprived of the power of deciding her own destiny in her own way, if she were continually compelled to adjust her life to that spirit which I have described then there would be nothing but the shame, the disappointment, and there would be none of these great memories to sustain and to cheer. Therefore it is vital once and for all to decide on these new continents whether or not the spirit for which Germany stands shall prevail.

We have now come to the time when something more is needed even than patriotic fervor, and that is a determination to make good the promises that we have vowed to our country and to God. What we need is a consecration of our own lives with all their available strength of brain, of money and above all of soul to this cause at the hour of this crisis; so that whatever happens—whether Amiens is lost or regained, whether our armies are beaten back or are able to return and meet the enemy with a counter attack, whether the war lasts for

months or whether it lasts for years—you and I, the men of this present generation, will not fail the responsibility or the honor of the burden that has been laid upon us. We shall feel that all our life has brought us to this point, and all the rest of our life will be judged by the way in which we have met it. Therefore we will pledge ourselves, Briton and Canadian and Americans in the United States, that we will stand by; and that because the issues are so grave we will make a point of lifting ourselves up to the highest point of our manhood, and there in faith and persistence we will stand until no other generation of free men anywhere has to face, as we have had to face, the intolerable burden, the havoc and the ruin of war. These sound indeed brave words, but they mean, and every man knows that they mean, a severe and exacting test upon our whole temperament and spirit. They are words which if they are true must necessarily sift the nation.

We have come to a time when we can judge as to their worth for the purposes of common life, all individuals and parties and classes and communities. We can see how they meet the test of this present time. Those who are found still thinking of their personal or party or community interests, and are not seeing that at this momentous time all of these must be subordinated to the first principles upon which our common life and common civilization are built, these men, parties, communities are tested and judged for ever. On the other hand, the men, the parties, the communities, the nations, who have met the test will be united as they have never been united before. You in Canada will find rising above and behind all the pressure of your material advance, the claims of the new soul of Canada. The nations of the British Empire will realize as never before that they have been joined by Him in whose hands history lies, for the purpose of spreading and maintaining a certain spirit throughout the world; and the two great English-speaking peoples of the British Empire and of the United States will realize, that through this tremendous time they have been called together, not only to save but to preserve for the future, the peace and freedom and order of the nations of the world. And so we have to take our choice—either we will be among those who fail, or among those who rise to the greatness of this momentous time in which we are called

upon to play the part of citizen. And because the demand is so exacting, and because it will need all the resources of the spirit and consciousness of us all, I will dare to use the privileges of an office which is older than that very Crown of England which unites us, and invoke upon the men and women of Canada at this great time the strong spirit of God, that He may uplift and chasten them, and enable them to play their part at this great moment of their history.

(April 12th, 1918)

## BROTHERHOOD AMONG MEN AND NATIONS

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By JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

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**I**T is at once a great pleasure and a high honor to be here to-day and to meet the members of the Canadian Club of Montreal. For a long time I have hoped that some day I might have the good fortune to meet some of the leading men of this great country, and now at last, through your courtesy and hospitality, my wish is being fulfilled. Politically, Canada and the United States are two entirely separate and distinct units, and probably will always so remain. Geographically, they are separated only by a surveyor's line three thousand miles in length, without forts or guards from one end to the other. For over a hundred years these two peoples have lived in peace and happiness as close neighbors, settling such questions as have naturally arisen in an orderly and friendly manner. This is very significant. Does it not point to the fact that in ideals and aims these two great peoples are alike? Does it not suggest that they are brothers in spirit, whatever the genealogists may say? I like to feel that it does, and I know my fellow-countrymen generally share that view. We have viewed with profound admiration the part which Canada has taken in the war. With remarkable patience and promptness you built up an army of four hundred thousand men and put them in the field, and these men have covered themselves and their country with glory. Had the United States raised an army of equal numbers in proportion to its population we would have seven million men in the field. At the same time you have provided over three-quarters of a billion of dollars for the conduct of the war. You have supported with unprecedented generosity the many organizations for the relief of suffering which have sprung up in connection with, and as a

result of the war, and you have increased during these years your agricultural output and built up your industries. And so I say we have viewed with profound admiration the things which you have accomplished. We have been enthralled and inspired by them; and now at last we are brothers in arms. You may have felt that we were slow in coming into the war; but at least it is to be noted that we stand as a united people, a thing which probably would not have been possible earlier, and we propose to stand by the side of our Canadian brothers who have already proven their courage, the brave and indomitable English, the gallant and unconquerable French, the Italians, who in some military matters have been efficient leaders, and the other allies, until under God victory has been won, even if it takes our last man, our last dollar and our last ounce of strength.

Of course the war is the central thought in the minds of all of us, and there are questions which we are constantly asking ourselves, such as these: Is there nothing which might have prevented this awful carnage? What is there which will make unnecessary a repetition of these years through which we are now living? May there not be something suggestive as an answer to these questions in the subject which I am here to discuss with you to-day, very simply and very informally—*Brotherhood among Men and Nations*.

I fancy that at the very outset we shall be in agreement on the proposition that brotherhood implies, I may say involves, personal relations among men. It is difficult to have a fraternal feeling for a man, your brother in blood, whom you have never seen, but it is easy to develop a brotherly attitude towards the man with whom you are in frequent and agreeable association even though he may not be a relation by blood. Have you ever stopped to think that most of the difficulties and misunderstandings which arise between men and groups of men are the result of lack of contact? When men rub elbows, sit about the same table, talk over matters, the points of mutual interest multiply, and the differences become fewer, and are usually easily adjusted. Is it not Charles Lamb who said: "I cannot hate the man whom I know." Personal relations among men must exist in order that brotherhood may develop, for they furnish the friendly soil in which the spirit of brotherhood may grow.

How true this is, for illustration, in the field of industry. In the early days of industry the owner was at once the Board of Directors, the officers, the General Manager and the Superintendent, as well as the boss. The employees were few in number, gathered locally. Not infrequently they and the owner had been brought up together from boyhood, they had associated in schools, calling each other by their first names. There was but one plant as a rule and the contact between owner and employees was daily, thus questions of difference which might arise on either side were taken up at the first chance meeting and easily adjusted, and the result was that brotherhood developed between owner and employees and the friendly, close feeling resulted. But in modern industry the situation is quite different. In order to meet the demands which are made upon it, the large corporation of the present day requires more capital than one owner can provide, and many owners are associated as stock holders in providing the capital. The employees are numbered by the thousands and tens of thousands, gathered not locally but from all parts of the country and from other countries, for you all know that it is not an unusual thing to find in some industrial plants ten, twenty or more different nationalities represented. Instead of one plant there are frequently many, in various parts of the country, and often in foreign countries. As a result there is no contact between owner and employee. Instead, a chasm has opened too frequently between these two groups and the result is that no brotherhood exists. It cannot exist, but in its place there is bitterness, distrust, and there follow strikes and lock-outs. The conclusion is too often drawn therefore that labor and capital are enemies, their interests are antagonistic, that each must arm itself to wrest from the other his just proportion of the results of their common endeavor.

This conclusion is false and is based on abnormal conditions. Labor and capital are not enemies. They are partners. Their interests are common interests. Neither can get on without the other. Capital cannot turn the wheels of industry without labor, and labor cannot provide the wheels of industry, nor its own maintenance, nor the money necessary to conduct the business, without capital. Neither can be successful and prosperous unless the other is also successful. These abnormal

conditions which the lack of common intimacy or contact between owner and employee have brought about, must and can be changed. It is not possible, or rarely possible, for owners in these days to have any close touch with employees; but on behalf of the owners, the officers of the company, and on behalf of the employees, their duly elected representatives, must get together in a group of equal numbers, have frequent contact and association, discussing problems of common interest. They must appoint their special committees, always of equal numbers of representatives of the men and officers of the company, which shall deal with the various questions relating to living and working conditions. Further there must be provided an avenue of approach to the highest officers of the company, if necessary, so that the humblest employee, if he fails to get satisfaction for an injustice from the man above him, can appeal if need be in succession up to the President. Such simple devices as these will do what was done in early days, or reproduce as best may be the conditions which existed in early days, and bring about more intimate contact between these two great forces, and make possible the development of a brotherly relation between them.

Not long since, together with a number of other men, I was asked, by a commission appointed by President Wilson, to deal with certain labor difficulties in the United States, to answer two questions: First, what do you regard as the underlying cause of the industrial unrest? Second, what remedy do you suggest? My answer to the first question was that in my judgment the cause of industrial unrest is that the employer or owner does not undertake to look at questions of mutual interest from the employees' point of view, and at the same time the employee does not undertake to look at such questions from the owner's point of view. I suggested as an answer to the second question, that when that situation was corrected and owners strove to put themselves in the employees' place, and employees to view matters from the owners' place, the remedy would have been found. When the feeling as between these two groups is: "Do as you would be done by," industrial unrest and industrial difficulty will be a thing of the past. Such relationships as these are necessary in order that brotherhood may be established in industry, a brotherhood essential to the real success of industry.

But some one may say: "These suggestions that you make are impracticable. They are all right in theory but they won't work in business." May I not reply, "have you ever tried to conduct your business on such principles? Unless you have, can you fairly say that these principles are not practicable in business?" I have seen industry conducted on these principles and with success, and with the development of such a spirit of harmony and brotherliness, between employers (represented by the officers of the company) and the employees, that it was difficult to tell which side was most gratified or more thoroughly enjoyed the new-found relationship. Since your President has referred to the very insignificant part which I had in connection with the disorders arising in Colorado in the coal industry a few years ago, I may trespass upon your good nature to say a personal word in further illustration of the point. The disorders which arose in Colorado were statewide, serious. The local machinery of the law was unable to keep the peace, nor was the militia of very much avail. The federal troops were called in. Intense bitterness was engendered, not only in Colorado but throughout the entire United States. Agitators for every 'ism' laying hold on this sore spot as a means for self-advertisement spread throughout the country the so-called reasons for these disorders, and the entire responsibility was laid at the door of the Rockefellers, who were interested only in one company of many that were there. That is of no consequence, except to develop the point, that when after the strike I had the opportunity of visiting Colorado, this very spirit of bitterness and hatred was existing there and all over the country as well. I spent a number of days, weeks in fact, in visiting the mining camps and the mines of this particular company in which we were interested, in talking with the miners, hundreds, yes thousands of them personally as well as in groups, seeing them underground at their work, in their bath houses, clubs, in the stores, in the streets, visiting their homes, talking individually and privately with the representatives of the men who had been appointed by the men, for that principle of representation was adopted by the company shortly after the strike. I asked them what if any difficulties still existed. They spoke with the utmost frankness. Many of the things they thought ought to be

done, little things, insignificant things which should be done were referred to the proper officers and were done. Other matters could not be accomplished in justice to the other employees or in justice to the company; but no point thus raised was left until it had been explained satisfactorily to the employee why the request could not be granted. The result was that these men who had expected to see a man with horns, the personification of all that is evil, found that he who came was simply a plain, ordinary man like themselves. They responded to that personal, frank, friendly touch, and there grew out of that contact not only a friendliness but a true feeling of brotherhood which I am glad to say has continued to grow stronger.

But the industrial world is only one of many illustrations which might be taken to develop the importance and the value of this spirit of brotherhood among men. It is equally essential in the social order, for as nations prosper social strata are inevitably formed with the result that misunderstanding arises, bitterness is engendered and antagonisms spring up.

You know, and England knows, and we are beginning already to know in our training camps, what a wonderful influence this war is having in breaking down those social barriers, false as they are, and bringing men together on a common basis of manhood and of brotherhood. The question no longer is, as men are associated together in the camps, where a man comes from, who his parents are, what position he may occupy; but is he a good soldier? is he brave? is he a comrade to be relied upon? is he uncomplaining under difficulty and discouragement? These new relationships which are forming among the men in the camps are quickly leading to the development of this same spirit of brotherhood. May I illustrate the point here again by another brief personal reference. I have had the opportunity several times of getting into contact with the men in our training camps and of speaking in the Y. M. C. A. huts. I have always coveted the privilege of meeting the men personally and of talking to them in groups. One night after the meeting an Italian soldier came to one of the secretaries and he said: "Which is that man Rockefeller?" and the Secretary said: "He is over there talking to that group of men," and the Italian soldier walked

slowly and carefully around the outside of the group, peering in and listening to the conversation, and then he went back to the Secretary and said "Stop your fooling and tell me which is he," and the Secretary said: "I tell you that he is over there in that group of men." "Why," said the Italian, "that is no devil; that's a man." And so just by that very brief and passing contact these men there had gotten a different point of view with reference to each other. We were seeing that we were very much alike and that it matters what is on the inside not what is on the outside.

Then there is the need for brotherhood among the churches, strange as that may seem to you. I recall some years ago when visiting a theological seminary, being struck with the fact that a Y. M. C. A. was being established for those theological students. It had never occurred to me before that such men needed practical Christianity quite as much as the sinners whom they go out to save. Among the Churches this spirit of brotherhood is too often woefully lacking.

We have been speaking of brotherhood among individuals and among groups of individuals. If it is really such a vital force in affecting relationships of individuals, is it not equally forceful as between nations? Already we see the principle operating among the Allies, how every day of the war is bringing closer co-operation, more frequent conferences, and a better understanding, and now at last a single Commander-in-Chief has been appointed over the armies at the front. Not only is this spirit manifest among the leaders of the Allies, military and civil, but it is even more fully put into operation in the relief of suffering among the soldiers and the civilian populations. The Allies have been quick to understand and to extend a helping hand to each other in many ways and the closer the feeling of brotherhood grows the closer and stronger will be the bond which ties all together. This spirit should be developed not only among those of the allied nations which are actively engaged in the war, but it should also be extended until it includes all of the nations lined up with the Allies on the side of right against might, even if, because of geographical location or for some other valid reasons, some of them are not actively participating in the struggle.

At that point, however, the extension of the principle

must necessarily halt until the war is over. Let me make this point very clear. The world is to-day divided into two hostile camps; savagery has thrown down the gauntlet to civilization. Both cannot longer continue to exist on the same planet, until the leader of the enemy forces and those who have aided him in bringing upon the world this indescribable carnage, as well as all others who are co-operating in the conspiracy to turn back the hand of time to the days of barbarism, have been permanently shorn of the power to further their brutal and impious schemes, there can be no peace. Far better be it that all arrayed on the side of right should perish in seeking vindication of the principles for which they are fighting than that any should survive to live under the dominion of brute force. Far better that the womanhood of our civilization should be sacrificed in this warfare than that it should survive to receive insult and degradation at the pleasure of a barbarous conqueror. Far better that innocent children should continue to suffer death at the hands of the ruthless enemy than live on in a world of cruelty and inhumanity. Not only must German militarism be destroyed absolutely and forever, but German philosophy must be reconceived and reconstructed from its very foundation, for no peaceful intercourse with civilized nations is possible to a people actuated by such barbarous principles. A German general said to a friend of mine in 1916 in speaking of the inhabitants of Poland, that the lives of human beings are to be conserved only if it makes for the state's advancement. Their lives are to be sacrificed if it is to the state's advantage. Such a philosophy as this completely subjugates the individual to the State. It must give way to the theory accepted by the free peoples of the world, that the well-being and happiness of the individual is the consideration of supreme importance; and that the State exists ultimately for the individual, and not the individual for the State. Nor can the teaching be longer tolerated that the State can do no wrong, but is supreme, being justified in pursuing any course or the performance of any act however contrary to law of God and man so long as it conserves the interests of the State. These principles can no more mix with the principle of brotherhood than can oil and water. They are diametrically and fundamentally at

variance with each other. Therefore I say the whole German political philosophy will have to be reconstructed before this humanizing and peace perpetuating doctrine of brotherhood can be extended to the German nation. And so this terrible struggle must be fought out now, whether it takes one year or ten years to achieve that for which we fight. There can be but one outcome of the struggle, for as surely as there is a God in Heaven right will prevail and might will be put down.

But when that day has come and peace has been established on an enduring basis, then and not until then can the spirit of brotherhood among nations be extended, as then it must be extended, to include all of the nations of the world. There was a time when neighboring countries were as remote from each other, in so far as intercourse and communication are concerned, as though separated by an ocean or a continent. That day has long since passed. No longer can any man live to himself alone, nor any nation. The world is becoming a single unit. Crop failure in South America is felt in Europe. Industrial difficulties in one country has an influence on all countries. Just as the peace and prosperity of any nation is dependent upon the happiness and welfare of all the people of that nation, so the peace and prosperity of the world are dependent upon the happiness and well-being of all of the nations of the world; and no force will be so powerful in conserving universal peace and goodwill after the war is over as the spirit of brotherhood among men and among nations.

When this world conflict is ended grave questions are sure to arise in the intellectual life of the several countries involved in it. Some one has said that the present war is only a curtain-raiser to the conflicts likely to follow when the period of reconstruction is reached. The progress of events in Russia during the past few months gives some indication of the violent differences of opinion which too often attend the re-birth of a nation. The patriotism of men of all classes is certain to be severely tested in the re-adjustment which must follow the war. During the period of reconstruction the one force to be looked to in the prevention of possible errors in the various nations, errors which if they were made would bring war far more bloody and more ruinous than this present war, because between brothers, is the spirit of brotherhood. If that spirit

shall prevail, influencing as it must and will those conservative in their views to consider the vital questions of the day from all sides, and likewise influencing those who are radical to realize that time is a great force in changing most things, and that progress made slowly is surer than that which is precipitate, then and then only may we except this critical period to be lived through and its momentous questions satisfactorily adjusted without further bloodshed and suffering.

But you may say, this thing of which you have been speaking is no new thing. It is centuries old. Yes, two thousand years ago a simple carpenter in Nazareth proclaimed it. The marvelous influence which he had was due not so much to the fact that he preached brotherhood as to the fact that he lived it, lived it with the woman taken in adultery; lived it with publicans and sinners; lived it with men diseased physically and morally, yes, because he lived it, but more because he was ready to die for it. And so it is not enough that you and I should give intellectual assent to this principle, that we should concede that it is theoretically sound. Only when we exemplify it in our own lives, in our homes, in our offices, in industrial contacts, in civil, political and social relationships, in world relationships, only then will it become a really vital, transforming force in the world.

Since the war began the world has paid a price in human life, in misery, in sorrow, that staggers imagination, and further heavy payments will be demanded. But if when the war is over brotherhood shall be established and shall be extended among men, and among nations, as a result of the war, it will be worth all it has cost. We shall have cause to feel that the hundreds of thousands of brave men who have laid down their lives could not have made the supreme sacrifice for any cause which will contribute so largely to the maintenance of universal peace, of humanity, of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

(April 15th, 1918)

## NATIONALITY AND EMPIRE\*

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By JOHN WILLIAMSON, M.A. (Oxon.)

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**A**MONG the vital forces of the present day the idea of nationality represents one of the most powerful. Since the French Revolution, the disintegrating influence of this idea has been felt increasingly in breaking up the old feudal and dynastic European systems of the past and in continuous efforts to rebuild the modern world on its basis. The German Empire and the Kingdom of Italy are striking examples of its power; while the present chaos among the central and south-eastern peoples of Europe is largely the result of their efforts to still further give expression to this principle in the case of the various peoples included in the Empires of Austria and Turkey.

Moreover, the influence of this idea is now felt powerfully within the British Empire itself. Among the great questions, therefore, to be faced when the present war is over there is none the right solution of which is more important; none which will call for the exercise of greater patience and skill, political insight and wisdom on the part of imperial statesmen. Let me try, therefore, to set it forth as clearly and simply as possible.

### I.

"A portion of mankind," writes Mill, "may be said to constitute a nationality if united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to live under the same government and desire that it should be a government by themselves, or a portion of themselves exclusively."—(Rep. Govt. XVI.).

The term, however, cannot be very strictly defined. In a

\*A Review of Gen. Smuts' "War-Time Speeches"

general way a "nation" may be regarded as a people organised as a state for political ends, and a nationality is a people consciously waiting for such organisation (Cf. Rose: "Nationality in Modern History," p. VI.). The constitutive elements of nationality are various, and found more or less united in different nations. A common territory within a well-defined geographical area and a community of economic interests usually form the physical basis of a nation's life. But no nation can rest on purely material foundations. Community of origin and the all-powerful influence of race, a common language with its stored-up heritage of common ideas, a common religion—are all powerful factors in the creation of a national consciousness. Add a system of common law and custom rooted in the far past, a common tradition and history it may be of heroic endeavor and achievement at the recital of which the pulses of successive generations have been thrilled with generous emotion. These and the recognition of common ideals for its future development form the links of steel that bind men together in the bonds of a common nationality. They serve to create a distinct ethos, or spirit, or character. When a people is found linked together by such ties, it is now admitted that it has a right to preserve these, to develop along its own lines, and thus to make its own distinctive contribution to the common life of the world. It is felt to be intolerable that such a people should be denied its freedom, ruled over by and exploited in the interests of a stronger power. And if the peace of the world is to be permanently secured, this principle must be admitted.

It does not follow, however, as is sometimes claimed in the interests of a spurious nationality, that this should necessarily be expressed in the form of an independent, sovereign state. That may not be any longer possible, or desirable. The nationalism that seeks to break up the United Kingdom, for example, into its old component parts of centuries ago, is nationalism gone mad. To seek the re-creation of a sovereign, independent state for Scotland, therefore, is absurd. From the Reformation to the union with England the national consciousness of Scotland was fully developed. Union with England, however, was made imperative by the fact that the very freedom, independence and economic interests of each

could be preserved only by the union of the two in a single state, in which, however, the nationality of both was preserved. Certainly, union did not destroy the distinctive nationality of Scotland. On the contrary it was the only means of saving it; and the national spirit of Scotland has continued unimpaired, if anything has grown in intensity, ever since. As a nation Scotland was not submerged or destroyed by the union; it was saved in the only way possible; and Scotchmen the world over, while preserving their freedom and distinctive national spirit as embodied in their national literature and institutions, have yet done their share in building up the mighty fabric of the British Empire. The claim to nationality, therefore, does not necessarily involve the further claim of freedom to express itself in the form of an independent, sovereign state.

In the present temper of the world that is but a dream. If the predatory instincts of human nature were transformed, if public law were as firmly established for the government of states as state law for that of individuals; and if it had a force visible and able to compel obedience to its precepts; if further the smaller states of the world were secure from the selfish greed of a powerful neighbor longing to annex their territory and evict or exterminate their people, it might be different. But the time when "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them," is still only the far-off but inspiring vision of the ancient Hebrew seer.

## II.

In the past the term Empire meant the rule of a single individual over subjects bound to obey the dictates of a master and laws in the framing of which they had no share. That is the principle on which the modern German Empire is based. Its own citizens are merely instruments of the state, conceived of not simply as the organisation of the whole people for political ends, but—as embodied in the Kaiser and his minions—something divinely appointed, separate from, above and beyond the people. And the alien races it has conquered are therefore to be subdued and exploited in the interests of their rulers, their language, religion, and every vestige of a national

spirit blotted out, even if necessary to the extent of wholesale expatriation and extermination.

The term, Empire, however, used for the sum total of British dominions in the world, in its old sense is a misnomer. British Empire does not mean arbitrary rule, tyranny, oppression; its watchwords are freedom, justice, humanity towards all. Its subjects are not exploited in the interests of the ruling power. To all English-speaking people in a position to enjoy the privilege and ready to assume the duties involved, the right of self-government has been granted. While to all the other peoples within its bounds, for the first time in their history, there has been assured the reign of law.

Confining ourselves, however, to the 60 millions of English-speaking citizens of the Empire: the future historian will note with wonder its gradual growth from two small islands in the North Sea to what is now not inaptly called a world-wide Commonwealth of nations. Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, are no longer Colonies of the United Kingdom. In the great whole of the Empire, along with the United Kingdom, they each form a complete, separate and distinctive unit. Each is free and independent of the rest in all that concerns its own local affairs. The principle of self-government has been extended from the municipality to the Province, to the Dominion.

What then are the relations of each of these to the others and to the Empire as a whole? Are these relations external merely, as France, Switzerland and Italy are related? Are they each distinct nations in any true sense of the term? A nation means a distinct nationality organised as an independent state. And under cover of this plea of nationality claims have been urged in circumstances where no such claim can be admitted. In Ireland a strong party under cover of nationality, is claiming for it the status of a sovereign state. As a matter of fact Ireland is merely a geographical expression. Beyond the fact of living in the same island its people do not possess a single common element on which a claim to a distinct nationality can be based. In the present temper of the world they could not maintain their independence for a single day. In reality Ireland forms a part of Great Britain, just as much as Scotland; and it is simply a matter of life and death for

Great Britain and for Ireland, and for the security of the freedom they possess in common, that no hostile power should ever be able to use it as a base of operations. With the vexed question of home rule for Ireland in local affairs we have at the moment nothing to do, but only with Ireland as a part of and in relation to the British Empire.

The same spirit is seen at work in South Africa, in the claim urged by Hertzog and his followers that South Africa should be organised as a republic independent of the Empire. It is not pretended that their freedom is in danger: that is amply secured by the present constitution. Nationality, it is claimed, should be expressed in state-hood, though without the faintest possibility of their being able to assume the first duty of a state and make provision for their own defence.

Is Canada a nation in any true sense of the term? Under cover of autonomy, never clearly defined as the right of self-government in local affairs, the claim has been made for the right of Canada to arrange commercial treaties of its own with other states, irrespective of the interests of the Empire as a whole—as if commercial and political interests were not inextricably woven together; to stand neutral in any war in which the Empire might be engaged; and to hold its military and naval forces at its own disposal. Now, if such claims mean anything at all they imply that relative to the rest of the Empire Canada is an independent state and bears only the same political relations to the United Kingdom and the other Dominions as it would do to the United States or France, should it happen to enter into an alliance with those States. In this respect the position of the Sinn Feiners of Ireland, the Hertzogites of South Africa, and the so-called Nationalists of the Province of Quebec is the same. In no real sense of the term can Canada be spoken of as a nation. It has no community of race, or language, or religion. As yet there is no body of tradition or history powerful enough to create a national consciousness. With what propriety, therefore, can the claim to nationality be urged on behalf of a people so hopelessly divided, and where, instead of trying to come ever closer together, it is the deliberate policy of one whole section of the community to accentuate every point of difference and thus to widen and deepen the gulf that divides them from the rest?

Nations are not made but grow, through years and centuries it may be of struggle and conflict before a national consciousness is born. Years of bondage in Egypt and wanderings in the wilderness in some form or other have been the lot of all great nations in the past, while the national gradually takes the place of the tribal or provincial spirit, and out of its various elements the people are gradually fused together into one great whole. Canada, therefore, is not yet a nation, but it may become one. It has comparatively no past, but it has the promise of a splendid future, when in the fulness of time it may take its place among the leading nation-states of the world in a great British Commonwealth. But if that time is ever to come Canadians must rise to the height of their opportunity. Lines of cleavage must be blotted out. The policy that seeks to perpetuate every point of difference can result only in perpetual friction and disunion and must be abandoned. It is hopeless to dream of a united nation if for all time one section of the population is to be kept isolated as on an island from all contact with the mighty tides of life, intellectual, moral and spiritual, that are surging round it. Within the British Empire, therefore, nationality does not imply the right to independence for any member of it. In such a "multi-national" or "super-national" world-state each of the self-governing Dominions, like the United Kingdom itself, is free in the management of its own affairs. In another sense, however, it is not free to go its own way irrespective of the rest. The United States fought through four years of civil war to settle once for all the question of the right of any State to secede from the Union. And it is fatuous to talk in Canada about the right of any Province to sever its connection with the Dominion. The union of Canada has been settled once for all: by nature, by geographical position, by historical conditions, by the decision of its own people and the imperial parliament. A union so established can never be broken. It is the same with the Empire. It is not a mere league of allied States. It is something more than the sum of the various parts. It is a great living whole. Its members are free to live their individual lives as the local and historical conditions of each may determine. But they do so as being at the same time members of a larger whole to whose life they contribute and in which they also share.

## III.

This brings us face to face with the greatest after-war problem before the British Empire to-day: to combine and harmonize the principle of freedom and self-government of the United Kingdom and the over-seas Dominions, with the unity and continued existence of the Empire as a whole. How, e. g., can Canada as a Dominion be at once a free, self-governing, self-determined community and yet form an integral part of the greater whole of the Empire? How can it share on the one hand all the benefits of so splendid a heritage, and yet on the other be bound to assume its fair share of the burden thereby entailed? Freedom, self-determination of the part, unity and continuous development of the whole: how are these to be reconciled? As the issue has been recently put by a distinguished general and imperial statesman of the highest rank from South Africa:—"The Dominions started as Crown Colonies of the mother country; they developed into self-governing Colonies"—and now "we have a congeries of nations equal in status to Great Britain—who will continue as nations, continue to legislate for themselves, and continue to govern themselves." What is needed, therefore, is some "machinery that will keep all these nations together in the years which are before them." ("War-Time Speeches," pp. 14, 16, 31).

General Jan Smuts has already proved himself a great military leader. Along with General Botha he has played a distinguished and successful part as a statesman in dealing with the difficult situation in South Africa left by the Boer War. In the present crisis he has stepped to the front as a General in the field and among imperial statesmen at the council board. His loyalty has not spent itself in words, in mere protestations of lip-loyalty to king and flag, and empire. It is, therefore, with diffidence that one whose only claim to do so is that of a student of political ideas should venture to criticize an authority so high, or one in every way so worthy to receive the respect and admiration of the whole empire, to which in these days that try men's souls he has rendered invaluable service.

General Smuts' statement of the first part of the problem may be cordially accepted. Freedom is the very breath of

life within the British Empire. It rests on the basis of the freedom and equality of all and the principle that each one of the Dominions is left "to develop freely on the principle of self-government" (p. 32). This is now universally admitted. The only question is as to how this principle is to be reconciled with that of the unity of the Empire as a whole.

As you all know the exigencies of the war have brought about what may yet prove a momentous step forward in the evolution of an imperial constitution. The old Imperial Conference which met once in four years for social intercourse and academic discussion of imperial questions, has gone. Its place has been taken by an Imperial War Conference. From this has come an Imperial War Cabinet composed, on a basis of equality, of the five war ministers of the British Cabinet and the Prime Ministers or leading statesmen from the self-governing Dominions and from India. For the time being, as Lord Curzon has pointed out, these form the governing body of the British Empire. At a meeting of this Imperial Conference on April 16, 1917, a resolution was adopted which may become of historic importance. It was decided that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. Meanwhile, any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, "should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine."

The freedom of the Dominions as self-governing units of the Empire is fully asserted. In addition, they are promised "an adequate voice in the foreign policy and foreign relations of the Empire." Nothing, however, is said of the main object to be secured by a closer union—the effective defence of the Empire and the duty of each "nation" to share in that burden.

It is, however, when we come to ask for "the machinery that will keep all these nations together in the years which are before them," that the answer is somewhat indefinite. The only suggestion offered is the provision of "effective arrangement for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine." It is this solution of the imperial problem that has found its latest advocate in General Smuts.

His use, however, of the terms "nation," "state," "empire," "autonomy," is at times ambiguous. When he speaks of "States" does he imply that it is the right under all circumstances of a "nation" to possess complete independence and sovereignty? He claims "the maximum of freedom and liberty, the maximum of self-development, for the young nations of the Empire." By this autonomy, however, does he mean simply the right of complete self-government in local affairs? Or is the right absolute? For the term is sometimes used in South Africa and elsewhere as a euphemism for independence. How can the right of self-government in this sense be stretched to cover all those interests which are common and vital to all parts of the Empire alike? What would be thought of the Dominion of Canada should the Province of British Columbia, in virtue of its provincial autonomy, claim the right to settle all Japanese and Pacific coast questions, or the Province of Quebec all questions affecting the navigation of the St. Lawrence, without reference to the other Provinces of Canada? Or what would have become of the United States as a whole if the State of New York should claim the right to declare war and make peace of its own accord; or to take part or not, just as it pleased, in the war declared against Germany by the government of Washington?

General Smuts believes in nationality. His great ideal for South Africa—which might well be followed in Canada—is not of two distinct nationalities living side by side, with one at least deliberately excluded from all contact with the other. That is a purely tribal conception, out of which no true national unity can ever come. With the eye of a true statesman he looks forward to the time when in South Africa there shall be only one nation which shall blend all the best elements of its

various peoples. Unlike Hertzog, General Smuts is not satisfied with mere political union; there must be national unity as well between the English and the Dutch (p. 82), if South Africa is ever to become more than a theatre for the display of petty race jealousy and intrigue.

In his survey of the Empire as a whole, however, the language of General Smuts is at times vague and obscure. Unlike Hertzog and his followers in South Africa and elsewhere, he does think of the Empire as a whole. He speaks of it as "this group of nations *to which we belong*;" as "not one state or nation or empire, but a whole world *by ourselves*" (p. 31). And his heroic efforts on behalf of the Empire since the war began have proved that to him, at least, the British Empire is a living whole, on the continued existence of which the best interests of South Africa and all its other members, as well as the fate of the civilized world, depend. Yet the question must be pressed: If the British Empire is properly described as a congeries of autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth; and if the self-governing Dominions are "nations within the Empire;" what is the Commonwealth or Empire within which they are said to be? If not itself a state, but "a system of states, a community of states;" in what does this "system," this "community" consist? How is it expressed to the world? How is it distinguished from the rest of the world? A "system" or "community" must be more than the mere sum total of its parts. Its members are related to each other not by the purely external relations arising from contiguous territory, or even by common economic interests. They are like the parts of a living organism where no one can be isolated from the rest without danger to the safety of the whole. Europe may be said to consist of the various states and nations within its borders; but it is impossible to speak of it as a system or community.

In what then does this community consist? Is the bond of union between the various members of the British Empire no more than a friendly alliance between independent states like that between the United Kingdom, France and Italy at the present moment? What, in short, in the words of General Smuts himself, is "the machinery that will keep together in the years that are before them "those young

nations of the Empire" to whom the maximum of freedom and liberty, the maximum of self-development, has been fully granted? The answer to this question leads straight to the very heart of the imperial problem. It is just here, however, where the sure guidance of General Smuts begins to fail. Instead of the old Imperial Conference meeting once in four years, General Smuts suggests some machinery for "common and continuous consultation on common interests concerning the Empire as a whole." (p. 36). The existence of common interests he admits. Among those imperial and common interests he specifies, in terms of the Conference Resolution, foreign policy and foreign relations. Strangely enough, however, as I have already noted, neither in that Resolution nor in his enumeration of them in his speeches, is there any reference to the one question which above all else is of supreme common interest to the whole Empire—that of imperial defence.

Moreover, he does not raise the all-important question how the decisions arrived at as the result of this consultation are to be carried out, in the event of one or more of the governments concerned refusing to be bound by them. He makes a large demand on our belief in the inherent goodness of human nature in his seeming assumption that such decisions would at once become effective. Misled by a false analogy he compares this conference for continuous consultation with a Board of Directors of some mercantile concern meeting round a table to decide the policy to be adopted by their general manager. But he says nothing of the means by which, in the last resort, this policy may be enforced. In the case of the Empire this is the real crux and difficulty of the problem.

What security for effective co-operation in a sudden emergency can there be in a situation which leaves an ex-prime minister of Canada boldly to proclaim to the world that it is optional whether Canada shall take part in any war into which the Empire may be plunged, and therefore by necessary consequence to remain neutral, or even take the side of the enemy, for that also is implied, whatever may have been intended? It is true that on this occasion he did not represent the feeling of the Canadian people or the splendid patriotism that waited only for the occasion to be shewn in deeds that

have astonished the world. But there are always politicians of the baser sort ready to make mere party capital by any means, and circumstances might easily arise where the situation might be different.

#### IV.

The Resolution of the Imperial Conference as defended by General Smuts is in reality a step backwards. It views the Empire on the same plane as the thirteen Colonies of North America on the eve of the Declaration of Independence. Between the two, as I pointed out eight years ago in an address on a similar occasion, there is an almost exact parallel. These Colonies claimed the rights of free and independent sovereign States. "The Congress of Philadelphia," writes Mr. Curtis in his brilliant survey of the imperial problem, "was no more organic than the Congress of European ambassadors which met in London during the Balkan rising of 1913. The powers which the various States were to agree to confer upon Congress had all to be exercised through the agency of the States themselves." Congress might requisition men, money or ships, but only from the States. The States were to promise to fulfil the requisition, but the compact said nothing as to what would happen if the promise were broken (*Project of a Commonwealth*, p. 551). "Congress was practically limited to the functions of a Conference which would frame schemes and request thirteen governments to give effect to them in detail" (p. 566). The inherent weakness of such a system, the mutual jealousies it aroused, its general ineptitude, were described once for all by Washington himself. "Certain I am," he writes, "unless Congress speak in a more decisive tone, unless they are vested with powers by the several States competent to the great purpose of war, or assume them as matter of right, our cause is lost. One State will comply with a requisition of Congress; another neglect to do it; a third executes it by halves; and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill and ever shall be—and while such a system, or rather want of one prevails, we shall ever be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage." (See Curtis, p. 575).

The Congress at Philadelphia provided ample scope for continuous consultation by the various States; but in regard to concerted action, in the day of trial it broke down and proved a failure. Such an example it would surely be the height of unwisdom to follow.

What, then, it may be asked? Are things to continue as they are? The war, once for all, has made this impossible. The English parliament cannot any longer be regarded as imperial, or entrusted with the government of the Empire whose interests it has so neglected. The self-governing Dominions, at least, will demand a voice in the control of all the international relations of the Empire. If, in the providence of God, it escapes the destruction which now threatens it, never again through the criminal indifference of its leaders must it be placed in a position of such deadly peril. Certainly never again will the people of the Dominion run the risk of suddenly finding themselves committed to a war of such tremendous issues without some weighty say in the fateful decisions that led up to it. So much is conceded in the Resolution of the Imperial Conference. Russia affords a terrible example of the fate that may overtake a State not fully organised at least for defence. And if the British Empire is to escape a similar catastrophe it must profit by the warning. If it is not to fall to pieces broken up into a number of small states throughout the world and thus become the prey of stronger powers, its unity must be more fully recognised and its various members drawn more closely together.

According to General Smuts, however, "the circumstances of the British Empire entirely preclude the Federal solution," as adopted, *e. g.*, in the United States. The United States, he claims, is essentially tending to become one nation, with a compact half-continent for a country." While the British Empire is a "whole world of itself, consisting of many nations, many States, and all sorts of communities under one flag" (p. 31). But time and space have now been practically annihilated for the British Empire by steam and electricity. The seas and oceans of the world like the great roads of the Roman Empire, are the highways for its commerce and its armies. And as Lord Morley has just been showing us in his latest volumes the government of Calcutta, to all intents and pur-

poses, is as near the seat of government in London as if it were in Downing Street.

When General Smuts speaks of the young nations of the Empire as growing up into Great Powers (p. 17), as continuing "to legislate for themselves and to govern themselves," if he is thinking of them as sovereign, independent States, he is right in his contention that the Federal system cannot be successfully applied to them; and the British Empire is reduced simply to a league of independent States, as the thirteen Colonies were during the War of Independence. If, however, as upon the whole it seems to be implied by him, the Dominions or nation-states of the Empire are less than this; that while free to develop each its own national and distinctive life, they are yet politically members of a larger whole; then it is difficult to see how some kind of Federation should not be attempted. If Canada *e. g.* bears to the British Empire in some important respects the same relationship as the State of New York bears to the United States; if in short the Empire is in any true sense a political whole; then to that extent it is a State; and to my mind at least some sort of imperial federation is the only form of state-organisation through which that fact can be expressed to the world.

The United States found political salvation in the adoption of the Federal system. "We have solved the problem," says a recent writer, of the rights of nationalities included within larger political units by a complete separation of nationality from citizenship. To us language, literature, creed, group ways, national culture, are social rather than political, human rather than national interests. Federation and release of all cultural interests from political dictation and control are the two great positive achievements of America." (Nation, March 14, 1918). I do not suggest that a complete scheme of federation of the British Empire, as seen in the United States, should be adopted all at once. But it is all-important that whatever steps are taken tentatively to reach a closer union, should be based on right principles, have a clear and definite end in view, and help on and not hinder the final result which in the fulness of time must surely come.

In the gradual evolution of the State, its direct functions tend to become limited as its area expands. The City-state

of Greece was directly charged with the oversight of all the interests of the life of its citizens; it was legislative and executive, church, university and school, all in one. As, however, its area expanded, the direct functions of the state became restricted. From physical necessity, there came a gradual but increasing devolution of its functions, as municipal and provincial government gave way to the nation-state or self-governing Dominion in the super-national world-state of to-day.

But the point is: in the process of parting with direct control of various local interests, in securing to certain of its individual members the right to self-government and self-development, the unity of the whole is not destroyed. And there are certain ultimate and primary functions necessary to the very existence of the State—in this case the British Empire as a whole—which must be reserved for a central government of some kind, if the unity of the Empire is to be preserved and the safety of each of its component parts secured in the only way possible.

In closing this brief outline of the most important problem now before the statesmen of the Empire, as presented in its latest form in the Resolution of the Imperial Conference and the speeches of General Smuts, it is impossible to enter on a discussion of some particular scheme of imperial federation. Let me add, however, that when the utmost freedom of self-government has been granted to the various nation-states within the Empire; there still remain matters, few in number but of vital common interest, which can neither be overlooked nor devolved among the various individual members without most serious danger to the unity and stability of the whole. Imperial defence, the maintenance of a military and naval force so completely organised as to make the Empire invulnerable against attack from any quarter, and the provision of an imperial revenue for this purpose; the direction and control of the whole foreign policy and international relations of the Empire, imperial trade and commerce and the development of its infinite material resources—which might well be used to liquidate the enormous debt the war will leave behind; these and all the subsidiary questions that arise out of them are surely matters of the most vital and of common interest to every member of the Empire. And they can be

dealt with successfully only by some body which shall represent it as a whole, be authorised to speak in its name, and above all have power, if necessary, to enforce its decisions. It is true, as General Smuts has pointed out, that here the British Empire has an invaluable asset in the person of the King, as the symbol of its unity and the object of the unquestioned loyalty of all its peoples. But the King is not an autocrat: he acts publicly only on the advice of ministers who assume responsibility for his acts. The King then must have imperial ministers for imperial purposes; the ministers of the English parliament, as such, can be imperial ministers no longer; and the Empire needs necessary organs of its own through which, as a political whole, its activity may be expressed to the world. And those vital common interests to which I have referred can never be adequately secured by such a purely makeshift provision as that of the Resolution of the Imperial Conference.

(April 22nd, 1918)

## MOBILISING FOR WAR

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By SIR CHARLES GORDON, K.B.E.

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**D**URING the past three and a half years now I have had exceptional opportunities of coming in contact with the principal war activities of the United Kingdom, first at Ottawa as Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board, afterward at London in the Ministry of Munitions, visiting France twice, and then at Washington on the War Industries Board. You all know about the magnificent way the volunteers of Canada came forward and the splendid work done by them at the front, but you may not be so conversant with the effort Canada made in regard to munitions, and I can speak with authority on that point. I have seen the effort made here, I have seen what they did in England and I have seen what they are now doing in the United States; and I can tell you that we have no reason to be ashamed of what Canada did in the munition line. The way that the business men of Canada came forward, the manufacturers of Canada put their shoulder to the wheel, and the amount of munitions they turned out during the time I know about it, from the first of November, 1915, until the present time, is something wonderful. One billion dollars worth of munitions were sent by Canada to the people at the front. Some 250,000 people are directly engaged in the manufacture of munitions in Canada, to say nothing of all those indirectly engaged in subsidiary industries. And if the effort of Canada has been great in regard to men and munitions, she is also now taking a very important financial part. The loans which Canada has raised have been great, perhaps you wonder why Canada should have to raise loans for the Mother country. The idea exists sometimes that there is no end to the supplies which the Mother country can put into the war; but there was an end to it, and Canada

is now being called upon to do what she can in the way of financing the Mother country for those munitions and that food which she needs to carry on this terrible struggle.

If I can speak enthusiastically about Canada, I really have no words to express what Great Britain has done. I know that we here in Canada, I know that the people of the United States, with all the enthusiasm they have for the war at the present time, do not realize the extent to which Great Britain has put everything into the melting pot. The Governments of all the Allies (with the exception of the United States) had some Act which could be put into execution when war breaks out; and the day war broke out or the day after, the Defense of the Realm Act was put into effect in Great Britain. This became the authority of the Government for doing whatever needed to be done to carry on the war. It was not necessary for the Government to go to Parliament for authority at every stage. The Defense of the Realm Act provided general authority, and allowed the government of Great Britain to mobilize the resources of Great Britain for the war. She immediately undertook the mobilization of the whole nation for the war. We cannot understand that in Canada nor in the United States, although they are beginning to understand it there now. I mean mobilizing the whole country for war, not only the fighting end, but industrial enterprise all through the country; and Great Britain went about it in the most thorough-going manner. Under the Minister of Munitions they took charge of all the great corporations, all the great industries, steel, copper, the manufacture of cotton, of woollens, and practically manufacturing of every description. They made up their minds that this was going to be a long struggle. There was no use talking about "business as usual." They heard something about "business as usual" for the first few months of the war, but it soon became apparent that you could not mobilize the whole nation for war and carry on "business as usual." They therefore went about it in the most thorough-going manner and practically confined the industry of the country to those which were essential for the carrying on of the war.

You as business men will appreciate the terrible strain put upon Great Britain, a country that was dependent for her

life, very much on an interchange of trade with all parts of the world. That has been cut down to a minimum. The conservation of shipping for the actual necessities of the war made it necessary for Great Britain to practically cut off a very large portion of her exports to every country of the world, and this applies with equal force to her imports. With regard to finances at the outbreak of the war, Great Britain found France with the northern part of her country overrun, and the steel and coal industry practically in the hands of Germany. It became incumbent upon Great Britain to supply France with all those necessities which she had lost. This involved a very heavy financial burden upon Great Britain. She found Russia alike without any adequate financial standing either to buy munitions in the United States or anywhere else, and she had to come to her rescue and supply her with enormous credit. I think I may say that no credit has ever been withheld by Great Britain from any of her Allies the moment it became apparent to her that it was necessary for the needs of the war. This was particularly the case in the United States. When the war broke out, Great Britain found that she was very, very dependent indeed upon the United States for all classes of raw materials and other commodities required for the carrying on of the war. She found that France was in the same position; Russia was in the same position, and this involved a very heavy financial responsibility in the United States by Great Britain, because she not only had to finance herself in the United States but also Russia and France, who were unable to take care of themselves. But how long could she go on financing even herself in the United States? When you buy stuff at the rate of hundreds of millions, some three hundred million dollars a month, it must be quite evident to all of you that you cannot go on paying gold for that. All her exports in the meantime, or a very large proportion of them had also been cut off, so that there was no interchange. The only other way was for Great Britain to liquidate her securities in the United States so far as they would go, and that was done; but they came to a point where with gold exhausted some other means had to be found. It was just at the time when I reached Washington, about July 1st of last year, that this situation had become most acute. It

was necessary that some financial man who had complete knowledge of the situation should come to Washington, and Lord Reading was sent out. I can say now, from close experience and intimate acquaintance with Lord Reading that no better man could have been sent to Washington at a crisis like this. He is a man of great experience, not only in the law but to some extent in business, and he has had a very considerable financial training.

I have said something to you about the effort which Great Britain has put forward in mobilizing her industry and finance. I would just like to say a word about what she has done in men—man power. Since the beginning of the war about seven million five hundred thousand men have been called to the services of Great Britain. About five million five hundred thousand of these are English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh; about eight hundred and fifty thousand of them are from Canada and other dependencies and dominions beyond the seas; and about one million of them are colored. These men form the vast army which Great Britain has in the field to-day. You must remember in considering the number of men that Great Britain has upon the Western front, that there are many other fronts which have to be kept supplied. First of all there is the navy, which calls for half a million men, and which of course I include in the seven million five hundred thousand who have been called up altogether. Then there is the Italian front, Salonika, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia; all these various fronts have to be supplied not only with men but with munitions and with food. This calls for an enormous number of ships. When I tell you that there are some six million tons of shipping tied up in the admiralty services, you will have some idea of the task it is to keep them all supplied.

It may have occurred to the minds of many of you here to ask: Is the British army outnumbered on the Western front? That is a question that has been passing around Washington very freely. Lord Reading gave me the answer. In carrying on an offensive, as the Germans are doing and have been doing for the past three or four weeks now, it is obvious that the side which carries on the offensive can choose the point of attack. The Germans are said to have about two hundred and ten divisions on the Western front, that is,

against the British and French, and the French end of the line has been left pretty well undisturbed during this great offensive. The communications are such they can be moved rapidly to any point where the offensive is to take place, in force. That is what has been occurring. Huge masses of men have been withdrawn not only from Russia but from the front in France and moved rapidly against the British. I know that you all feel just as I do. I think every Britisher feels it to-day in his heart, that the objective of the German army is not Italy or France or the United States. It is to smash Great Britain. That is what they are trying to do, and if they accomplish that this war will be pretty nearly over. But I am satisfied that a country which can put into the field armies in France and Italy and Egypt and Mesopotamia and Palestine and various other places in the world all at the same time is not going to be smashed on the Western front. We may depend upon it that the words which were used by Mr. Asquith at the beginning of the war are going to be literally carried out. "We shall never sheathe the sword until Belgium regains in full measure all and more than all that she has lost; until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, and until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed."

If we have had doubts about how things were going in France, I think I can truly say to you to-day, coming as I do directly from Washington, that the United States are at this moment thoroughly alive to the situation. This last offensive has brought the United States face to face with a crisis. It needed something of this kind to impress upon the United States that not one moment was to be lost in the mobilisation of every man, and of whatever strength they were going to bring into the war; and I can tell you, gentlemen, that the effort which has been put forth recently has been a very great one.

Now President Wilson, when he had to make up his mind as to whether the United States would come into the war or not, was face to face with a very difficult problem. The people of the United States, generally speaking, I think, up to a year ago, were opposed to the war. There is no question about

that. They were temporarily opposed to the war as they were to all European entanglements. In the second place, they were going through a period of very great prosperity. They were almost drunk with prosperity in the United States, due to the fact that all the industries were working overtime for the allies. And thirdly, the distance which separated them from the war made it very difficult for them to realize it. President Wilson, however, has succeeded in bringing the United States into the war with an unbroken front. I think from what I can see from people down there to-day, and from the people I meet and have met during the last year, that there is absolute unanimity to-day in the United States from one ocean to the other. No doubt from the very commencement of the war, there was a very large party of the Anglo-Saxon element of the United States always for the war; but they were not in the saddle at the time and their influence was not such that it could have been depended upon to carry the nation into war and have no backsliding. That party is now absolutely in the saddle. There is no question about it at all; and any other party or any other group which showed their heads above the trenches to-day would have them shot right off. They could not exist for a minute. That is the message I would like to bring to you, that the United States to-day is thoroughly wakened up and intends to bring the full force of their material and men into the war as soon as possible.

When I visited England in November last I had the honor of accompanying Lord Northcliffe and Lord Reading, and of being present at the conference which took place at the office of Lloyd George, the Prime Minister. I remember one notable conference in particular, at which Colonel House and the members of the American mission were present. Lloyd George had just returned from Italy, where things were not right. He had just got back that morning, and after lunch he reviewed the state of affairs in Europe to those assembled from the British cabinet, the American mission and several others. I think that meeting will probably go down to history. The Americans were there sitting in the very room in which the decision had been taken to go to war with America, at the time of the Revolution. Now, they sat as the representatives of one of the Allies of Great Britain. Lloyd George made a very

impressive speech. I think that when Colonel House and his party left that room they did so with a greater feeling of responsibility in regard to the war than they had ever had before, because Lloyd George pictured to them in the most vivid way the position. He told them about the defection of Russia, the difficulties the Italian situation presented. It was just after the Italians had been swept back and had lost some three hundred thousand men and two thousand five hundred pieces of artillery. He said: "We have to make it up, not only the artillery, but the men. Of course," he said, "we cannot go on doing this kind of thing. If we do we shall exhaust our resources to such an extent as to bring them to the danger point. I want you to go home, back to Washington with this message. First of all that you must send men over; men, men and more men, and secondly that you must go into a very, very large shipbuilding program."

This war has called for four things, men, munitions, shipbuilding and money. Now the United States have all these, and I think there is a determination on their part to supply them without stint. The difficulties of their situation as compared with ours, are very great. They have not got a Defense of the Realm Act, which permits the President and his secretaries to carry on without referring to the people; and it has been necessary for the President to go to Congress from time to time for many of the important measures which have been found necessary to carry on the war. When they entered the war a year ago, they had two great departments, the army and the navy. These are created by law and cannot exceed the functions for which they are created. It became necessary, therefore, instead of being able to act from time to time and from day to day as could have been done under a War Measures Act, to go to Congress for all authority which the President needed, first for finance, then for the conscription act, then the shipping act, the aircraft act, the food act, the coal act, etc. All these acts and measures have taken time, and you must sympathize, I am sure, with the President and with his secretaries in the awkward position in which they find themselves. They must carry the country with them in all these various measures before they can be put into effect. The effect, of course, is to retard the American program. I can say, however,

that all those men in Washington at the head of the great departments, that is the army, navy, air service, primarily concerned with the war, are showing a great deal of vigor in the prosecution of their own departments. The new departments which have been created, especially the food department with Mr. Hoover at the head of it, and the shipping, with Mr. Hurley at the head of it, are being handled with the utmost vigor. The aviation department is having its difficulties. You have heard a great deal about the Liberty motor and what it is going to do for the war. The Liberty motor is a great achievement. There is no doubt that it is a real contribution to the war, and when the difficulties are overcome which are being met in the manufacture of such a difficult piece of machinery, it will find its way to the Western front and add to the already efficient air service which the Allies have there. In addition to the regular departments which Washington had, a new departure was made in the appointment of a Council of National Defense. This is a Council composed of prominent men drawn from all parts of the United States to assist with their advice the work of the regular departments. Here business men are heads of a very large number of different industries. The War Industries Board, which has to do with the mobilizing of industry and the production of munitions, is very well organized and splendidly manned. Another Board corresponds to the Ministry of Munitions in the United Kingdom. At the beginning these Boards were not clothed with the necessary authority to get results. That was found to be the case some time ago, but they are now taking steps to invest them with an authority which will make it possible to carry on the work of the war more expeditiously than has been done heretofore.

Many of these men at Washington in the service of the United States have given their services gratis. They are known as "dollar-a-year" people and have been serving their country well. I would just like to say a word of appreciation of the men who have given their services in Canada, too, and who are now giving their services to the British War Mission in New York and Washington. It is a very great sacrifice for some of these men to come to New York or Washington, giving up their businesses, their family life, and doing it with-

out recompense whatsoever. A good many of the people who are at Washington and New York have come there on my solicitation. Mr. Woods, who is my chief lieutenant in New York, received a telegram from me one morning and he was in New York the next, nearly a year ago, and he has been there at the office from nine o'clock in the morning until seven or eight in the evening, every day since. Mr. Wilson has called to his service a great many of this class of men also, and I know from what I have seen that they intend to carry out to the letter the announcement which he made a short time ago to the people of the United States, the same way that Mr. Asquith's announcement in Parliament at the beginning of the war was the note which the people of Great Britain have acted upon. This is what Mr. Wilson said: "The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible government. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless masters of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted to the domination of its principles, but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling."

(April 25th, 1918)

## SCENES OF WAR

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By DR. BENJAMIN RAND

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I WAS sitting on the terrace of the House of Commons in London about a week before the outbreak of the war talking to some members of Parliament, one a member of the Government, and I remember this remark: "Oh, Sir Edward Grey will settle that difficulty," and then our conversation turned to the problem of the Irish question. I tell you that to show you how little idea even some of the members of the Government had of war at that time. At the outbreak of the war I saw the Expeditionary force pour out of the city of London and other cities of England to the ports and stations, and proceed to France. I wish to say now that, although I have seen many thousands and tens of thousands of British troops since that date, I have never seen a body of troops any more fit for the emergency than were that Expeditionary force. Following that came the influx of American tourists from the continent of Europe, a great rush of people. Ships were being taken rapidly—they wanted to reach home. Following that came another rush from the Continent, of a different character. I was in London when the first group of old men and women came from Belgium. I remember distinctly the first group of them who came to Charing Cross station, old men and women with materials and household utensils and other effects, gathered up as if they were fleeing from a fire; but there was something different on their faces from that of people who had seen only fire. When they came into London they were not yet fully assured that there was any place where there could be peace and safety. They came into a country speaking a different language, among a different race, and as they passed out of the station on that day people gave them a hearty cheer of welcome. Then it was that the

English women came upon the scene with their aid, and I remember in an upper room some ladies gathered together to meet and prepare for their reception. That was on Monday; they worked day and night, and by Wednesday evening they had prepared for five hundred. That great work did not cease until they had provided for over two hundred and sixty thousand Belgians in England. You ask what has become of these Belgians? One day I was walking with the Mayor of Richmond and he pointed out a man to me: "That is our Belgian priest; over on the other side of the river we have a Belgian colony, where they carry on their trades just as they would in Belgium, and they have their priest and their schools." One day going north in the train a man said to me: "Do you see that large body of houses and those munition works? Those are our Belgian refugees making munitions for Belgium." Such has been some of the work with the Belgian refugees.

Immediately upon the outbreak of the war came the demand for troops. Then the city took on a different aspect. All the signboards of the city were filled with recruiting posters. Every square was alive with small companies of men drilling. Gentlemen, I did not wait for my own country to get into the war, for before I had left London I was out in Hyde Park on the recruiting stand. At the foot of Nelson's monument, the English recruiting officers called out "See what Canada has done, what Australia has done, and so on," and I called out: "You cannot deceive us over the seas. You have raised three millions of volunteers, as noble a recruited body as ever yet came from over the seas."

The city streets filled up with Y. M. C. A. huts; the big buildings and the parks were commandeered; great new buildings were being erected for government offices. It took on a different aspect in nighttime, too. I rather liked London in time of war at night time, the dim lights, the searchlight playing between nine and ten. Then, too, a great difference could be observed in regard to employment. A large body of women came in in every profession and trade, and every class of work that could be done by men was taken up by women. They were at the railway stations, in the Y. M. C. A. huts, in the clubs, looking after the soldiers from overseas. I want to say that if any Canadians or Australians or South Africans

have gone astray in the city of London, it is not due to the lack of care on the part of the people of England.

I have crossed over every year since the war began, so that I have seen the submarine warfare in all its stages. I thought it very wrong at the first that we were not permitted to have guns on board, just as the P. & O. boats had. The submarine warfare is not all on one side. I believe that a great many ships are lost owing to the fact that they do not zig-zag enough, and they therefore leave their sides exposed too long. Now we have our own guns on board and we practice with them crossing the Atlantic. Near the coast there is an airship above to sight the submarine below. It is a war of wit against wit, and I will pit the wit of the Allies in this matter against the Germans with no fear of the outcome. The war will not be ended by any submarine warfare. You ask me what is the effect of this submarine warfare on the food question in England. I can only say that I live in London as I do in Boston, but cheaper. There are, of course, certain restrictions in England, but they are no greater, really, than they are with us. Lloyd George draws a good distinction between restriction and deprivation. He said if you are accustomed to have three meals a day and you can have only one, that is a deprivation, but if you are accustomed to have three drinks a day and you can have only one, that is a restriction.

I must now change to another type of warfare. I have seen three Zeppelin raids and one aeroplane raid. The first Zeppelin raid occurred six miles from where I was and eight bombs were dropped; I counted them distinctly. I went out after it was all over to see the effect of those bombs. One bomb dropped in the center of a street and made a hole three feet deep. Of the row of houses on either side, at least four houses on each side were destroyed and the damage was reduced gradually up and down the street. The next raid occurred a thousand yards from where I was. It was a wild night, I can assure you. I went out to see the effect. One bomb had dropped right in the center of a square. The three sides of the square were hospitals and one side was open, and in the hospitals every window had been shattered, and the patients were sitting in the windows. The fronts were

chipped with the steel from the shells. Later on I heard cheering in the streets and rushing out I beheld way off to the north a Zeppelin which was falling in flames. This was the beginning of the end, and little more will be heard of Zeppelins.

On the average, the bombs which fell from an aeroplane destroyed only the two upper stories of well-constructed houses, and you would be quite safe on the ground or basement floor. There were exceptions. One bomb I saw produced the same effect as a bomb from a Zeppelin, but on the whole that was the difference. As I have said, the searchlights played by night and by them you noticed the anti-aircraft guns increasing in strength. However, as to being frightened, well, the English are not made that way.

Leaving this type of warfare, if there were time I would take you to visit, as I have done, the interned soldiers and interned civilians in England, but in passing I will simply say that whatever may be done to English soldiers or Canadians in Germany, no such thing as retaliation is met with in any camp I have visited in England.

I must take up two or three minutes to tell you about the wounded soldier. You see the wounded soldier as he arrives here. I have seen him carried out of the trenches on stretchers. I have seen the motor ambulances waiting behind the walls ready to take men down to the Casualty Clearing Station, and down at the base I have visited several hospitals, notably one conducted by McGill University, in charge of Colonel Birkett. I thought the figures he gave me very remarkable. As I remember them, 67,792 wounded soldiers had come into the hospital in the two years up to that date, and only 359 of those had died. It seems to me that those figures speak volumes for that particular hospital. I have watched the wounded crossing in ships over to Brighton, and I have gone down to the station to see the ambulances arriving to meet the wounded soldiers. They have a beautiful custom there. As the ambulances and carriages pass out of the station the people gather on the sidewalks and throw flowers into the conveyances, and the men wave their hands, if they can, to the crowd.

I have investigated the work of reconstruction in many hospitals in England, including St. Dunstan's, Roehampton, Epsom and Eastbourne.

I had the privilege to go north to visit the grand fleet. Never before have I seen such a great naval army, from the largest super-dreadnought down to the battleships and cruisers and submarines. It was a magnificent display of silent strength. We were taken aboard a ship which, according to the Germans, had been sunk in the North Sea. Gentlemen, within twenty-four hours of the outbreak of the war, that grand fleet had locked up in the Kiel Canal a fleet on which Germany had spent three hundred million pounds, and they kept it locked up there until this day. What does that mean? We talk about submarine warfare. If their cruisers should get out, what havoc they would play with our troops crossing the seas. Over thirteen millions of troops have crossed the seas since the war began. They have also kept up a blockade which has had great effect in Germany, although we do not know the entire history of that. I wish only to say that that grand fleet is the pivot upon which this war turns, both upon sea and upon land.

I must now take you to the front, the English portion of the battleground. Well do I remember when we crossed the channel. It was in a storm, and we were loaded with troops returning from furlough in England. I stood on the deck, which was crowded to the rail, and the sea beat over the ship's side, and the soldiers stood there with their knapsacks at their feet, and the thought came to me that they were like those knights of olden time who might have crossed those same waters in the Crusades, and I felt it an honor to be privileged to travel with them. On arrival we were met by English officers and taken up to a beautiful chateau perhaps ninety or a hundred miles from the coastline, which place we made our headquarters while in France. The morning after we were to go to the front. We tried on our gas masks and our helmets and we took our raincoats, for it rained every day while we were in France—I know what the mud of Flanders is like—and away we went in our automobiles over the hills of France. Then began the line of war traffic going to the front, the Indians with their turbans riding horses, then thousands and thousands of troops of every branch of the service, from everywhere, motor busses by the hundreds, and every portion of the traffic as well regulated as it is in the

city of Montreal. At length we reached the war zone, no one being allowed to pass through that zone without having their permits examined by British and French officials. Everything is blighted and burned there. The trees have no foliage, the grass is all dead. We came to the city of Arras, and I cannot think of anything more desolate, more lonely than a city uninhabited save for a few in cellars. Houses everywhere have been demolished by shells. We came to the open market-place and there the City Hall is in ruins. Then we came to the saddest sight, the great Cathedral of Arras. Now it has the heavens for a canopy, for the roof lies on the floor. The pillars are still standing, and in places on those pillars the English soldiers have written: "Vengeance is Mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord." I also saw upon another pillar the regulations governing the English soldier while occupying France. It says: "The English soldier must remember that the French soldier is fighting for his country in some other part of France, and in his absence the English soldier is the guardian of his home."

Leaving Arras and going south we come in a short time to a sunken road, and on the right side I see three chalk lines and on the left three chalk lines, stretching as far as the eye can see. On the right side are the English trenches and on the left are the German trenches. Out of the right side came the citizen army raised by England, and they pushed those Germans out over the ridges beyond, and what they did on that occasion they have done more than once since and they are capable of doing it again. We went farther south, and leaving our automobile in a safe place we walked for quite a distance to the communication trench. Then, going still further south, we came to the Somme region, where the retreating Germans burned down the churches and entered the houses, defiling them, and took able-bodied men and women back into their own lines for service. Not one who has been in that region can bear to say anything else than there shall be no such thing as compromise with unrepentant barbarism. On the top of Kemmel, 400 feet high, I had a view of the whole stretch of the battle line for miles. The strange thing about a battle front is that the nearer you get to it the more deserted it is. While I saw thousands and tens of thousands of soldiers on

my way, within two or three miles of the line they had all disappeared. They are in the dug-outs and there they stay until it is time for them to go over the top. The battle front presents a scene of thrilling interest, for there the tapestry of the world's history is being woven; there our own relatives and friends are holding out for the cause of civilization as the two armies meet in daily conflict, and by that meeting are to be settled the issues of civilization for generations to come.

As you get nearer the front you grow much more optimistic from the spirit of the troops you meet, and from the organization with which this war is being carried on. At headquarters a map is hung up, and the officers say: "That in our objective to-day. We have taken it, and that is all there is to it. There is another objective perhaps somewhere else. Our purpose is to wear down the Germans and also to gain the strategic positions, which we did in 1917, Messines, Vimy, Paschendale," and you know how important they are at the present time.

I want to close with some reference to the greater army behind the army at the front, of which larger army I see a portion here before me. One of our generals said that only 25 per cent. of the men are actually fighting at the front or engaged in war activities near the fighting line. 75 per cent. of them are in other pursuits behind the lines. If you want to know how the war is going, ask yourself, and ask the other members of the 75 per cent. You can rely on the military to do their part. Our relatives and our sons and our friends have been sent to the front, have enlisted and been conscripted. It is well for us to keep in mind that they have been sent forth in a righteous cause. Liberty is at stake, not only national liberty, but our individual liberty; all we hold precious is once and for all at issue; now, now is the issue. Since this war began new precedents in war have been set up, indiscriminate murder at seas, the bombarding of open towns, the poisoning of wells and the breaking of international treaties. This type of warfare must once and for all time be brought to an end, by a defeat of Prussian militarism. Then again, we engaged in peaceful pursuits have our lives upset and turned aside by these attacks of German ambition. There shall be no next war if we can help it for some generations to come, if we at

least can defeat German militarism and place upon her such bonds that she cannot break the peace. As the war has gone on it has taken on the hue of the ideal. The ideals that we have held precious are now placed over against those of Germany. If we do not succeed in defeating the Germans, they will impose their ideals upon us, and the ideals upon which we have built our civilization will be lost; and new forces will be brought into play if we win, to improve society both at home and abroad, in public, in individual life and also in our national life.

Gentlemen, only one word more in closing. Among all the generations that have passed it is for us that the privilege has been reserved that we should make the greatest fight for liberty, for peace and for democracy. Who are we that we should have been chosen, that it should be left to us to establish democracy? It has come in our day, it has come to us, and it is our young men who have gone forth and made the great sacrifice for that principle. Those who do not return, make for them your marble monuments, make monuments for them in stone, in marble, see that their memories endure in poetry and let them be entered in historical records. Those mortals have put on immortality. For us who still remain there is still a duty to perform, old and young, rich and poor, we have still to contribute our share in this fight even as we have done in the past. We have to continue to do it. This is a war of endurance, and when the war is over, if you act in that spirit, you can have the comfort of knowing that, when the crisis of the world's civilization came, at least you endeavored to do your part, and although many of you did not escape suffering, your sacrifices were for duty, for honor and for the benefit of mankind.

(April 29th, 1918)

## LABOR AND THE WAR

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By SAMUEL GOMPERS

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**I**N the days of the American Revolution and in its darkest hour, a man arose and gave a trumpet call to the weary and to the heart-sore in that struggle. Perhaps no word can find a response in the hearts and the minds of the men and women of our time who are fighting the battle for democracy more readily than that of Tom Paine when he said: "Now is the time that tries men's souls." Now indeed is the time that tries the souls and the hearts and the fiber and the make-up of the manhood not only of Belgium and France and England; not only of Australia and South Africa and the United States, but of Canada herself.

It is needless, I take it, for me to attempt to discuss the great issues involved in this great crisis, in this tremendous world struggle. Suffice it for us to know that we are fighting for all that is near and dear to us, for that which is worth living for, and if needs be dying for. A people who would not defend their liberties are unworthy of the privilege and the right of freedom. The onslaught of the military machine of Germany upon the democracies of the world, upon the spirit of freedom, is better known to you than to me. To respond to the call of duty was but a natural thing to a man who knew what was involved. World domination has been the dream of tyrants from time immemorial. Thank God, the spirit of freedom has always conquered in the end, no matter what the sacrifices may have been. Canada has given of her best blood, England and France and Belgium and Italy have done likewise. Though the United States of America enters into the contest later than any of them, we have realized the situation from the beginning. Bear in mind the heterogeneous character of the people of the United States. It was not and

is not an easy matter to mobilize the goodwill and the unity and the solidarity of the people of our country.

Yesterday afternoon, when I witnessed in your city this parade of your returned soldiers, many of them wounded, some never to return to the firing line again, it was at once saddening and heartening. The men through whose veins courses red blood, the men who think clearly and understandingly and manfully—who of them was not touched by that spectacle yesterday? Whoever was not stirred by that can be unaffected by the greatest tragedy in human history. Can there be a choice between whose side you and I, as best we can, are going to fight? You have in your country British Canadians, Irish Canadians, French Canadians, but after all you are Canadians, and the lot of Canada hangs in the balance as well as that of every other democracy of the world. There can be no hesitancy in that choice. What opportunity would the people of Canada have for the expression and the maintenance of freedom and democracy under Kaiserdom? You have had your experiences with Britain. You know the great, enlightened course pursued by that country in this last fifty years. No matter what one may have had cause to complain of as to the activities of that country before that period, there has been no country more liberal in its dealing with its own people at home and abroad than have the people of Great Britain.

Our chairman referred to the fact of my birth in England. First let me say I was not responsible for it, and second confess that I have no explanation to make of it, and third that I am proud that I have had the opportunity to become a citizen of the Republic of the United States, and fourth that I have lived fifty-five years in that Republic, longer than a great majority of the native-born Americans, and I am very proud of my citizenship. I want to be worthy of the great privilege of citizenship in that Republic. I want to be of service to my fellows; I want my fellow-workers of America to take advantage of the opportunities that are presented. I shall not try to limit my activities to the people of my adopted country. We are engaged in a great struggle, the people of Canada, the people of all our allied countries. It is a time to give us pause. We see the threatening situation. But I have an abiding faith

that somehow the Hun will not pass, that he will not be permitted to trample underfoot the freedom, the understanding of the great democracies of the world. There have been too many sacrifices to permit us to surrender to the yoke of this tyrant. A people as unprepared as were the people of Belgium, France and Britain and the Dominion of Canada could not be expected to cope with a military machine, the preparation for which had been going on for half a century. It is difficult to transform a liberty-loving, peaceful people on to a war footing, and particularly upon a war footing of modern warfare. It may take time, longer time than we hoped, longer time than some of us anticipated. It may cost greater sacrifices than we believed, but they have got to be made. Your flesh and blood and mine are over there facing the enemy, and we must do all that we can to furnish our fighting boys over there with everything needful so that they can fight and defend us in our homes and our rights. I have confidence as to the result.

A man who nearly all his life was not only a peace-loving man, but as a pacifist second to no man on earth, I am free to say that I never believed such a world war possible. It came to depress and to undo a whole lifetime of thinking and hoping and idealism for peace; but when it attacked the civilization of the world, with my fellow-democrats of the world I became transformed into a fighting man, and I am unwilling to give my obedience to any movement or propaganda that shall bring peace until the Hun is driven out. We are not going to stop to meet, or to permit anyone to meet, the representatives of the enemy countries, or permit them to meet us, until this war has been won. A peace based upon the map of Europe to-day, will for all time to come testify that militarism, might and power are the only attributes for government; and the sacrifices of all your friends and my friends and the men who have gone before us to establish the principles and the foundations of freedom, will all have been made for naught. For your own sakes, for our sakes, for the sake of the world, for the sake of the people of Germany, Kaiserism and militarism must be crushed.

This world is being made all over again. The concepts of old must give way to the new. But of what value is wealth, property and possession if we should lose, if we could lose?

It is a choice between making sacrifices to secure our freedom, or paying tribute to Kaiserism. Great fundamental principles and policies are in the making. Rights, privileges, duties, obligations, are all up for re-making. The question asked centuries and centuries ago, "Am I my brother's keeper," will be answered, as one of the results of this war, and it is going to be answered in the affirmative. We must help bear our brother's burden, or he and we will be crushed under the load. The underfed and under-developed, the hobo, the loafer, the idler and the parasite, will all have to be accounted for in the near future that is before us. We are not going to have any system that means the suppressing of individuality, financial or commercial, a strait-jacket for the people. We want the greatest opportunities for individuality, with a deep concern for the social justice of all. We are going to see to it, you and we and all of us, that the strength of mind and body of our young shall have the opportunity for the fullest development and exercise of all that is good and true, to bring about happiness among all our people.

In that hope, in that aspiration, my friends, my comrades in this great human struggle, I bid you if needs be to be heartened and encouraged, as I want you to give encouragement and heartening to the men of America, to the men and women of all our allied countries; to pledge ourselves, if needs be, to be true and stand true and to the last, until triumph has come to our great united cause.

(May 3rd, 1918)

## THE Y.M.C.A. AND THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM

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By HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
and  
CAPTAIN MACNEILL

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*His Excellency, in introducing Captain MacNeill, made a stirring appeal for the Y.M.C.A. Campaign. In the course of his speech he paid the following tribute to the work of the Y.M.C.A.*

THOSE letters, the Y. M. C. A., and the sign, our red triangle, will stand for all time as one of the greatest and the most striking bits of history which this great war has produced. It has been the means of bringing help and comfort to thousands; but it has done far more than that. Through the instrumentality of the Y. M. C. A. there has been a bond of sympathy established between those who are doing so much for us on the battle front and those whose hearts are yearning for them,—those who are left at home, and have so many anxious and tedious hours of waiting; for from whatever aspect you look at the Y. M. C. A. you will find that they take up that work which is most needed, most effective, and most prompt in its action. In addition to the actual work which is now going on every day, every night, through every hour and every minute, the Y. M. C. A. is dealing with some of those great problems which we shall have to face, not only now, but possibly for years after the last shot has been fired. The great problem which has to be solved is to bring back to civil life those vast numbers of men who at a moment's notice gave up practically everything. Whenever this terrible war may end, the processes of re-settling the ordinary activities of our industrial, agricultural, commercial systems will have to be undertaken. No

doubt much will be done by government, but there will be an immense scope for work which can be done by sympathy and by unity. Through the instrumentality of the Y. M. C. A. we shall be able to bring to bear a vast store of sympathy and a keen desire to produce the very best results, to the solution of these very complicated problems.

### CAPTAIN MACNEILL

**I** SHOULD like to relate to you something of the work the Y. M. C. A. is doing toward what I shall call the higher patriotism. They are attempting to maintain that idealism without which the whole brutal business of war, for the men and for us, would sink into the grossest kind of barbarism. In all the history of young nations there is nothing finer than the supreme idealism that sent our men crowding to the colors.

Within the past three and a half years or more, thousands of our young Canadians have glimpsed something that carried them completely out of themselves. In the presence of that crisis they climbed to the awful verge of manhood. Within themselves, through themselves, they have "felt the energy supreme of the centuries burst into blossom on the thorny stem of time." They went out like the knights of old, following the Holy Grail, but not to the romance of war. The romance of war is dead. They came to the very pit of Hell, to the mud and the blood and the stench and the dirt, to wind and rain, to the sickening and ghastly sights of their dead and mangled comrades and the ever-recurring call to go back again into the line. The greatest fight our lads have out there is not to hold their trenches. They can do that, but to hold their vision, their ideals. It is hard for idealism to survive amid gloom and vermin and the frost that bites, and the dreary dug-outs. Matthew Arnold reminds us that the tasks which in hours of insight cannot be accomplished may in days of gloom be fulfilled; but for our boys out yonder the days of gloom are very long and very terrible, the hours of insight are very few. You at home must know that the greatest fight of all these three years has been to hold the idealism with which we first entered the war. It has not all been an unqualified victory, we may as well acknowledge that. The fine idealism which we had in 1914 came very near to its death in 1917.

The exalted passion of that earlier time suffered a sad eclipse. I venture this opinion for what it is worth, that the greatest contribution America has brought into the war—and she will bring great contributions—is that at the most critical stage of the struggle for us, she brought back to France and Britain a new birth of the early vision. We have regained our idealism in the great and solemn dedication of a great nation to a high and holy cause.

While I pass, let me just say this. It was my honor to pay a visit with Colonel Birks to the Americans in February last. We passed up from General Pershing's headquarters into their front line trenches. They are a magnificent body of men, strong, alert, eager, all the more so because some of them have felt that their country was too long in coming into the struggle. At times in Canada we have feared the boastfulness of the American spirit. There is none of it over there. On all hands we heard this remark: "If we shall only be able to do as well as the Canadians we shall be proud of our record in the war." Now, I believe it is in the direction of that idealism that the Y. M. C. A. is fulfilling possibly its finest function. It has come into all that life to relieve its sordidness, mitigate its horrors and cheer its gloom. The Y. M. C. A. has been in the tents of the men distributing, for instance, half a million sheets of writing paper every week on which the men largely write their letters home. They are in their huts yonder entertaining and furnishing diversion for the men. They are on the athletic field with a great programme which last year cost us seventy thousand dollars and this year will cost us one hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars, providing free athletic equipment for these boys to recuperate mind and body when they come back to rest. They have organized out of the talent of the army fifteen or sixteen concert parties, constantly bringing the great gospel of good cheer into the lives of the men, relieving the tedium of their conditions and bringing their minds and their spirits back to poise again.

There was a kilted battalion came down the line one night. We always try to give these fellows an entertainment on the night they come back from the line. They were all spattered with mud, but they did not even wait to clean up, they were so anxious to get into that show. There was gathered in that hut

a solemn assembly of Scotchmen. But while there was some delay in starting the programme, some way or another a man from another unit managed to slip in, and after a word with the accompanist he stepped to the front of the platform, and in the most pronounced cockney accent he sang the following parody:

"Scots wha hae on porridge fed,  
Scots, whose hair is awful red,  
Scots, who suffer with swollen heads,  
Gang and wash your knees."

Well, that fellow was nearly a stretcher case before he got out.

The Y. M. C. A. is also in the forward area, in the dug-outs there, with its service of free tea, hot drinks, constantly within reach of the men, sometimes at a time of their most pressing physical need. And in the times of the big attacks they are carrying on a service which men have assured us is the greatest of all. The army authorities confide to us a day or two before the big attacks the lines on which the walking wounded and stretcher cases will come down, and we establish our coffee stalls near there to meet the walking wounded and stretcher cases. I remember our experiences in the attack when Hill 70 was captured. Half an hour after the attack began the stream of wounded men began to come back. Oh, the great spirit of those men. There was a Highlander of the 16th, with his tunic and shirt completely torn off him, left in the barbed wire up in front. He said never a word about his wounds, he had not even a word of greeting for us. He was hilarious with glee. "The 16th has got their objective," was all he said. Then I remember the lad about whom his officer told me afterward. He came from the Western fields. His commanding officer told me that he had been a heart-break to him. He loved the lad and still he had to face this thing. His crime sheet was a disgrace to his battalion; but there was a machine gun position lost up there in the front line, and he was one of the first who sprang to retake it. He met his death blow there, but before he passed out, just in the few minutes left, they heard him say: "Canada, this for you."

I remember the boy who had his eye completely destroyed. He came down the roadway, the blood flowing down. He was

half dazed and he stood for a moment to wipe away the blood from his eye and gain his bearing. We took him into the dressing station. He knew that in some way he had entered into the great aristocracy of those who suffer for liberty. Nelson lost an eye also in action for Britain; Nelson, as the poet said, with his poor little withered frame and his soul like a North Sea storm. Some one spoke to this lad: "Well, lad, and what are they going to do with you?" "Why," he said, "they are going to give me the Nelson touch!" Great men! Magnificent spirits! Wonderful endurance! Over and over again I have said out yonder, surely they were great fathers who sired such boys as these. Surely they were great women who mothered them.

It is our privilege in the Y. M. C. A., and it is your privilege through the Y. M. C. A., to serve these fellows. When they come down there from the line we stuff their pockets with chocolates and we lift a cup of hot tea to their lips when they cannot do it themselves. We light their cigarettes and put them in their mouths when they cannot do it themselves. We take the names of the home people, we take the messages, write the letters. Last year we spent one hundred thousand dollars just in that free service out yonder in the forward area. Then, no one will ever understand what it means to the men themselves. There are thousands of men out yonder, I know, who have learned to read one phrase of the Bible in a revised form: "Whosoever shall give a cup of hot tea in the name of the disciple, he shall not lose his reward."

But the Y. M. C. A. also, in promoting national unity, is serving the interests of the higher patriotism which exalts principle above party. We have learned to know that principles are eternal, parties transient; principles are universal, parties are local; principles are pure, parties are prejudiced; principles are inviolable; parties are not. In the piping days of peace we sometimes screamed for the parties. In these tragic days of war we have learned to fight for principle. We have feared the heterogeneous element in our national life. I am bringing you this assurance from the front, that so far as the nation overseas is concerned it presents a solid entity, diverse in its unity and unity in its diversity. I suppose it must be admitted that the greatest element making for national

unity out yonder was the common suffering through which these men pass. Give men a great common purpose, let them shed their blood together for its achievement, bring in their hearts the hope of its realization, and you cannot drive a wedge of cleavage through unity like that. It is impossible in that atmosphere to set race against race, creed against creed or thought against thought. "There is neither east nor west, order, nor breed nor birth, when two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth." In the establishment of that national unity the Y. M. C. A. has played a great part. More than any other place it is a common meeting ground of the men. There they find their entertainment together. There they have enjoyed their rest parties together. There they have found the common meeting ground for their religious expression. In a great many cases I have seen the programme of the Y. M. C. A. on Sunday start with a Roman Catholic service early in the morning, the Chinese battalion meeting in the afternoon, a free religious voluntary service at 6 o'clock, and at seven o'clock the Holy Communion for all who wished to participate in it. Even in my own very limited experience I have found the Y. M. C. A. a great bond of Empire. I have been permitted on its platform to address every man of the British Empire; the Australians, the Canadians, the New Zealanders, the boys of the navy, the men of the Flying Corps, the English battalions, the Scottish regiments, the Irish divisions, men from South Africa. I have addressed a group of men from South Africa, Boers who fought against us in the South African war, and some of them showed me on their bodies the scars of British bullets. A marvellous thing! Fifteen years ago fighting against Britain! No other Empire under the sun could have accomplished such a thing—bringing free peoples in beneath the flag, offering to them the very largest degree of responsible self-government with which they may be entrusted. As one American writer at the opening of the war said: "She is a funny, funny British Empire. She is illogical and ill-defined, but then she is great with the greatness of a mighty soul."

The higher patriotism here at home as well as abroad is always aiming at the conservation of national resources, whether in material resources of the nation or the spirit of

its manhood, or in the fruits of sacrifice, and here let me just interject this word in passing. I would like to bear this testimony to the high command out there in France and England. I have found on every hand a great anxiety on the part of our command to safeguard the lives of the men. They have proved themselves not only to be great commanders, but anxious friends, seeking the welfare of these fellows in every way compatible with victory. Just before I came away I had an interview with General MacDonald, in charge of the first division. He was a very reserved Scotchman and yet under great emotion he said to me before we parted: "MacNeill, I lost the only son I had on this front and there is little for me left now but to serve other people's sons, and if there is any mother's son of Canada for whom I can do anything out here, you may be sure I shall be glad to do it."

Let me offer you a hint just here of something you may well do for the conservation of your men both in the present and future. I am referring to the great educational movement launched among the men overseas in order to safeguard their intellectual life for the present and safeguard their interests for the future. It is too long a story to tell, except to say this, there is not a man or officer out yonder who does not come to feel that one of the greatest fights he has to face is to keep up his intellectual level. Put a group of men together in a tent, with a flickering light, and what chance is there for culture? So there began to spring up in all the camps little groups of men here and there, trying to maintain the level of their intellectual life. It was not long until down in the camp in one section, under Captain Clarence MacKinnon there sprang up a little college of no mean proportions, bringing classes of men together for instruction. Some time prior to that the Y. M. C. A. invited Dr. Tory of Alberta University to come overseas and make an investigation and report on the possibilities of that line of work. He spent three months there, came back to Canada and formulated his report. Every university and college, I understand, from the Atlantic through to the Pacific, endorsed his scheme and the government and military authorities are behind it, and they are to launch out yonder, not as the Y. M. C. A., but in England in what is known as the Khaki University and in France as the University of Vimy

Ridge, the work in England under Captain Clarence MacKinnon, and in France under the leadership of Captain Oliver, and the whole overseas movement under the able direction and leadership of President Tory of the University of Alberta. It will be the duty of every Canadian citizen to study closely that great movement as it relates itself to the life of our men. Half a million dollars of the present drive in connection with our Y. M. C. A. campaign is to be set aside for that educational project overseas. It is not alone the present need of those men that it is considering. It looks forward specially to the great day of demobilization, the day of peace, which will in many ways be the most critical hour that ever faced our Canadian boys, and why? Because the rigid restraints will be lifted. Liberty may pass into license, discipline having become irksome to the free, independent spirit of our men reactions will likely follow, and this may throw men into excesses far more dangerous even than war. Think of your boys, some of whom broke their college courses in two, gave up their professional life, their whole life completely thrown off its base, two, three, four years taken right out of the formative period of their young manhood. The finest challenge that has ever come to us as Canadian citizens is this, that we shall see to it that the future of these men shall be safe-guarded, so far as lies in our power, to provide training for their future life work.

I will just say this in closing. Do you know what the one great fear of the men is, overseas? It is a kind of haunting fear sometimes that the people at home may fail them. They do not fear the fight, but they do fear a fight that may be only half won. They do not shrink from the sacrifice, but a sacrifice that might be all for nothing. They do not fear for the line out yonder, that it will break, and I am one, knowing the spirit of the men, who believes that it will not break. But they do fear that in some way or other the line at home may crumble up, that, those at home war weary, may draw back from the fight before it has been carried through for the great ends to which we consecrated ourselves in the beginning. The greatest treason of which we could ever be guilty would be the treason to our living and our dead in France and Flanders. That is the voice of the men out yonder, the voice that comes from those thousands and thousands of graves I have seen on the hills and vales of France and of Flanders.

My closing words are the words of one of your own great sons, who speaks to us, not only on behalf of the dead, but from among them:

"In Flanders' fields the poppies grow,  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky,  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly,  
Scarce heard among the guns below.

"We are the dead: short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved and were loved; and now we lie  
In Flanders' fields.

"Take up our quarrel with the foe.  
To you from falling hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die,  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders' fields."

(May 6, 1918)

## ENGLAND AND IRELAND

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By S. K. RATCLIFFE

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IN England, when we think on the Irish question, we go back, not as the Irish people do, to Cromwell or Fitzgerald and the Revolution of '98, but mainly to the year 1886, when the Liberal Prime Minister, Gladstone, suffered conversion upon the subject of the Irish question. His opponents said that if there had not been in the new Parliament of 1885 more than eighty nationalist Irish members, who held the balance of power in the Commons, it would have been a different intellectual experience for him. Without going into that, Mr. Gladstone did, in 1886, commit the Liberal Party to a programme of Home Rule for Ireland, and in that he failed. Then came a long period in which nothing was done, during which the Conservative party was in power and generally in office. Some tremendous fatality seems to follow every British statesman when he comes into contact with Ireland. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill was largely lost because he proposed to take the Irish members out of the House of Commons. That meant separation, they said, between Ireland and Great Britain, and the thought of it was not to be tolerated for a moment. When, some five years afterward, Mr. Gladstone introduced his second Home Rule Bill, he made the concession that all the Irish members were to remain at Westminster. The second Home Rule Bill failed largely because the Irish members were left at Westminster, because it was charged that they would interfere with our English, Scottish and Welsh concerns. That is just an illustration of the difficulty which confronts every statesman who tries to deal with Irish politics. If they get at him from one side on one opportunity, they will come at him from an entirely opposite side the next time.

During the long period in which we had a Conservative

ministry in England and the conservative policy in Ireland, there were two notable developments in Irish administration and among the Irish people. The government made great efforts to improve agricultural and social conditions in Ireland. The enemies of the conservative government were inclined to describe them as killing the Home Rule Bill with kindness. Liberal grants were made to the Irish people, especially in the distressed and congested districts, for churches, the improvement of agriculture, building, and the betterment of the condition of the people. This policy, begun by Mr. Balfour, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, culminated in the Land Purchase Act, a most striking piece of legislation, framed by one of the most fascinating figures outstanding in our political life of that time, the late George Wyndham. He was beyond all question one of the most devoted as well as one of the ablest men in charge of Irish affairs in our time; and the Land Purchase Act, which gave to the Irish peasant the power to buy his own land and become a freeholder, was one of the most notable contributions to the subject, whether we agree with its principle or not.

There came at the same time a most notable revival of Irish intellectual and cultural life. Up to the beginning of the 90's Ireland's mind seemed almost dead, at any rate it did not find any real means of expression to the rest of the world. It was not until the rise of that very able and fascinating group of writers and thinkers and painters and dramatists associated with the Irish revival, that the English-speaking world really began to understand something about those wonderful treasures of thought and imagination and beauty which lie in the past of Ireland and in the present of the Irish mind and imagination. Through the work of those men during the years when Irish politics were not expressed in England in terms of Home Rule, Ireland became the subject of study and discussion that it has remained.

The end of that period came in 1906 with the government which had Asquith at its head and Lloyd George as the second important member. For four years, during which the Liberal government had an immense majority behind it in the House of Commons, in accordance with its pledges to the Irish people, Mr. Asquith found himself in a position to endorse a new Home

Rule scheme; and from 1910 Irish Home Rule has been one of the most prominent subjects in the House of Commons and before the country. Most people would have said that the interval which had elapsed from the Gladstone to the Asquith-George government would have tended to the mollification of the feelings of the people in Ireland, that they would have been more inclined to accept a reasonable settlement, and that next time proposals for self-government were laid before the country they would be met with something different from the former hostility. We found out that that was not so. It is necessary to say first that the Asquith scheme of Home Rule from 1911 to 1913, was not a scheme which aroused any great enthusiasm even among the Home Rulers, certainly not among the Irish Nationalist members following the late John Redmond. It was not a proposal for Dominion Home Rule, but only a little broader in its scope than the local self-government of English town and county councils. It did not satisfy the Nationalist party, and it met with the fiercest opposition on the part of the Ulster Protestants.

The idea prevails very largely among ordinary folk who study the question of Ireland at a distance, that the nine counties of Ulster represent a unit, so that you can treat Ulster separate from the rest of Catholic and agricultural Ireland. If you look at the figures you will see this is by no means so. There are several counties in Ulster, three out of the nine, in which Catholics are in the overwhelming majority. There are three other counties in which Protestants and Catholics are about equal, and then three counties of the northeast corner of Ulster which are predominately and overwhelmingly Protestant. If Ulster were a Protestant unit we could deal with Ireland as a country in which there were two clearly marked and irreconcilable parties; but geographical, religious and social facts do not allow us to treat it in that way. We must always remember that Ulster has a problem within the larger problem itself, as Ireland is a problem within the British Empire. At the outbreak of the dispute over the Asquith Home Rule Bill, it seemed as though Ulster had modified its attitude with regard to the proposals of self-government, treating Ireland as a whole; but the Protestant opposition to Home Rule was used and expounded with remarkable political

effect. It would be impossible for anybody to describe what happened in 1913 and 1914 without giving offence to one side or the other, or most probably to both sides. I will leave it with this moderately contentious remark, that for my part I believe and feel that Ulster was more prepared for a scheme of self-government, treating Ireland as a whole, than was at that time allowed to be known in England. Those of you who remember the opening chapter of Wells' book, *Mr. Britling Sees it Through*, will remember the extremely sarcastic description of the discussion over Ulster in the months immediately preceding the outbreak of the war. It is not very wide of the mark, indeed I think it is pretty close to the facts. I have always felt that the difficulty of Ulster has been intensified because of the connection between Ulster and conservative party politics in England. If we could have had the thing as a straight, political issue between Nationalist and Protestant Ireland, it would have been much easier to handle. As it is, the further you go into it the less clear it becomes.

We were facing the probability of actual civil strife in Ireland, at the outbreak of the war. On August 3rd, Sir Edward Grey delivered the speech which decided the destiny of the British Empire in this war, which carried Great Britain into the struggle on behalf of the Allies. There was no more notable moment than when at the close of his speech Redmond got up in the House of Commons and said, before the Empire and the world, that Ireland was with the Empire in the struggle. That declaration of John Redmond was received, as such declarations invariably are, in two ways. In England it was received with profound relief and thankfulness. We felt that Redmond, who had led the party almost from the death of Parnell and had shown remarkable Parliamentary qualities and a great capacity for co-operation, had justified himself. It was not so well received in Ireland. The extreme nationalist party felt that the Parliamentary party was getting out of touch with the general feeling of the people of Ireland, that Redmond made that declaration without first having had contact and discussion with his people, and therefore was not speaking for the whole of Ireland, as we in England felt that he was or ought to have been. That was the difficulty.

Every person of fair mind would have said after that

declaration, and from the moment we realized that civil strife was not going to occur in Ireland, that now we had before us an opportunity, or in all probability a series of opportunities, which we could use in the most direct and determined way to get the Irish problem off the road. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, an unexplainable fatality overtakes all British statesmen when they get down to the Irish question. They lost the opportunity which came to them in 1914; and through the policy which they pursued between 1914 and 1916 they lost very many opportunities which ought to have been taken advantage of. Things went from bad to worse in Ireland. The more advanced party of nationalists demanded, not Asquith Home Rule and not Dominion Home Rule, but something greater than either; and this party was advancing in its hold on great bodies of the Irish people. In Easter of 1916 there broke out that unhappy rebellion in Dublin. It would be a very serious mistake to speak of the rebellion in Dublin as though it represented the party of Sinn Feiners as a whole. We are perfectly convinced from evidence brought before us in England that many Sinn Feiners took part, but that neither their chief leaders nor the rank and file had any connection with a policy of anarchy, revolution or physical force. The people in Ireland had been stirred up by the display of physical force made before the war, in Ulster first of all, and afterward in Nationalist Ireland; but the evidence is conclusive that up to that event the idea of physical force was restricted to a very small minority of the extremist Sinn Feiners. You all know what followed; a series of repressive measures by the military in Ireland for the suppression of unrest, the death sentences carried out upon the leaders.

We have been called a sentimental people. We are told we give way to feeling in time of crisis. I do not know how far that criticism is justified, but I believe it is true of the British race, that when we reach a point of crisis where something of a generous kind is to be done we are always prepared to do it; and further, that when we come to the darkest point in any political quarrel that we find we are in all probability nearer to the dawn than we supposed. You could not have pointed to a darker hour in the relations of Great Britain and Ireland—and as you know there have been dark enough

hours—than those weeks of the Spring of 1916, after what had happened in Dublin. Asquith went over to Ireland himself to investigate and on his return, in addressing the House of Commons said: "The old system of government is condemned." Then Lloyd George was sent over to negotiate with the leaders, to see if he could discover a basis of settlement between them, by consent. You do not need to be told that Lloyd George has great qualities as a negotiator. He has had very remarkable success as a member of the Government in controversial disputes, in getting people round a table who seemed to disagree, and finding a basis of settlement. In the Irish question he undertook a task, I am afraid, which was even beyond his own striking gifts. I suppose when he went to Ireland he felt confident that a Welsh Celt could deal with an Irish Celt better than could an ordinary Englishman. For a few days he was able to hope, and he let it be known that the two parties of Ulster and Catholic Ireland had agreed to make certain concessions and arrive at a basis of agreement; but when he returned and stood up in the House of Commons to declare what the settlement was, John Redmond on one side and Sir Edward Carson on the other both got up to say there was some grave mistake, as they had never agreed to those particular provisions. I am afraid it was one of those demonstrations that the Irish question is a problem by itself and the Irish people are a people by themselves, and you cannot pursue ordinary methods with the object of arriving at a basis for a permanent settlement.

It must be confessed that in 1914, and since then, the three successive governments in Great Britain have missed every opportunity that has come to them for a settlement. The failure of the Lloyd George mission in 1916 ought surely to have been followed by a still more resolute and complete attempt to get at the causes of the difficulty and see that a settlement was reached, but the activities of politicians in Ireland usually end in despair, and they let it go again for a time to see what happens. What happened was that things got worse and worse, until in the autumn of last year a new move was made in the appointment of the Dublin convention. The proposal came first of all from Sir Horace Plunkett, one of the most experienced of the sons of Ireland, and surely one

of the most devoted public men in the world. The proposal was to get the representatives of the various parties together in private at a convention, as the convention of Philadelphia sat in private in 1777 to work out the provisions of the American Constitution. This convention met in Dublin in the autumn of last year, sitting behind closed doors, where even the oratorical Irishman had to speak his mind without thought of the gallery. High hopes were entertained of the Irish convention in the opening months, but those hopes began to disappear, until when I met Sir Horace in London he said he appeared to be the only hopeful person left in the convention hall, and that he still hung on to certain shreds of hope. Those hopes disappeared more and more until the present crisis, when, owing to the German offensive and consequent losses in meeting it, the Government made the declaration that the military service acts had to be extended to Ireland.

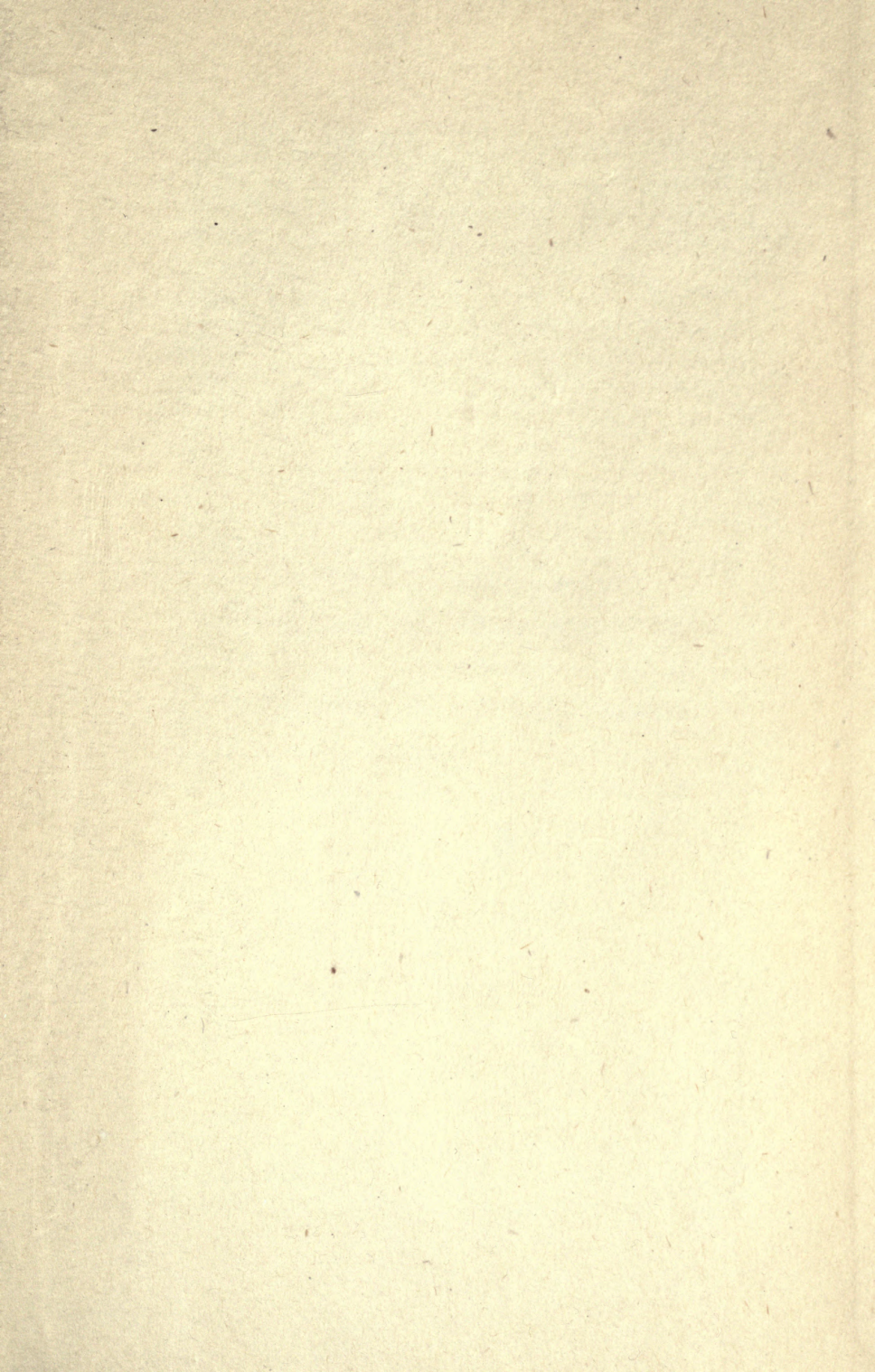
These acts were passed through Parliament in the opening months of 1916. Both Asquith and Lloyd George and the whole coalition understood that they would not be extended to Ireland. Whenever that question came up, as a matter of expediency, it was decided that it was quite impossible to put the Irish people under the same conditions of compulsory military service as we had accepted in England and Scotland, because of the unsettlement of the political problem. If, of course, we had at an earlier period of the war arrived at a basis of permanent settlement in Ireland, it is my belief and the general opinion of the English people, that no difficulty would have been experienced with regard to the military position. You must remember that there never has been any ground of complaint or disappointment with regard to military service against the Irish people. We know the part they played in the old army of the Empire. When we see in the newspapers that Ireland has not contributed a reasonable quota to the army, we must get the figures and look at them. We shall see first of all that to the old army Ireland contributed far beyond the ratio of her population; and to the new armies she has contributed, even during these times of political strife, a quota which if Canada were to equal according to population she would have 600,000 fighting men in the line. You must remember that Ireland has only four million of population. She has

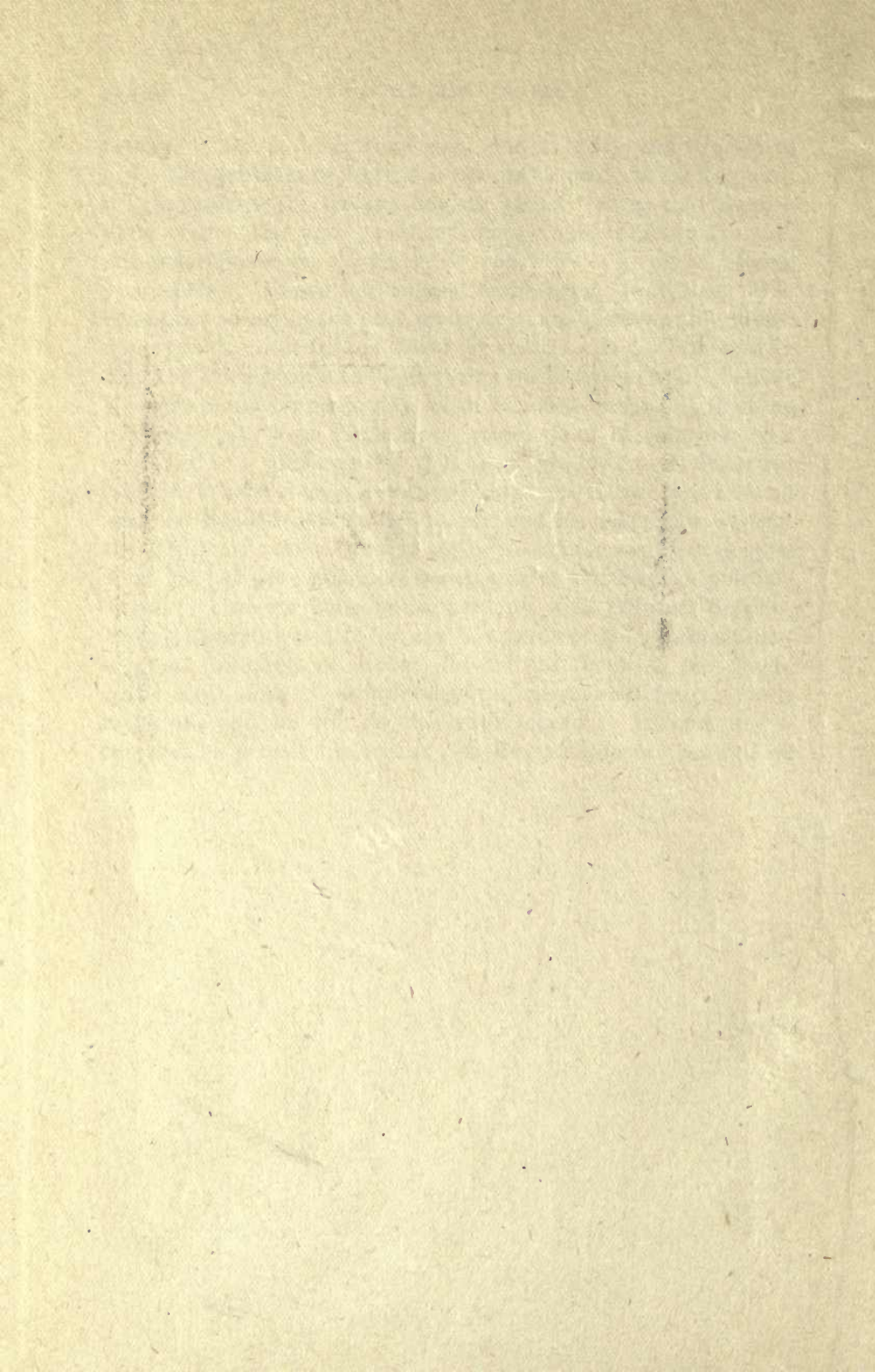
suffered in her able-bodied population very heavily. Ireland is a country of the old and the very young; the able-bodied men of military age are there in a much smaller proportion than they are in any normally constituted country to-day. Those facts must be remembered when you want to arrive at a just estimate of what Ireland has been doing in the war.

And now I come to the extremely critical position in which we stand to-day. You will have noticed from the cables that the declaration of conscription was followed by the announcement that the Government would proclaim at the same time a new scheme of Home Rule, and you will have seen that that announcement has stirred up the Ulster people and dissatisfied the Nationalists. To-day we do not know what is going to happen to the Irish Home Rule scheme when Lloyd George introduces it within the next few days.

I feel inclined to say that I am prepared to prophesy with regard to most things in England to-day with reasonable latitude, excepting two. I would not care to prophesy what will be the future of Mr. Lloyd George, and I should not care to prophesy as to the outcome of this Irish situation. I am an Englishman, all my working life has been associated with the Liberal side of English journalism; but I speak also for the most progressive Conservatism in England, when I say with confidence, that for many years past the people of Great Britain have been resolved, that not only should a settlement be reached in Ireland if it could be done, but that everything possible should be done to redeem the past. There is no difference of opinion in the English democracy with regard to what we want done in Ireland. We want a settlement reached; we want to redeem the past; we want the Irish people to be satisfied; we want, when the time comes for a settlement of this war, the envoy of the British government to be able to say to our enemies and the critical representatives of other powers, whoever they may be, that we have straightened out our own problem of a small nationality within our borders, and have shown to the world that we mean justice, and have known how to show something in the nature of generosity towards the Irish people. That is the unanimous feeling of the common people in England and Scotland and Wales. There is no other feeling in their minds or hearts

to-day. That is what they want done. But what are we to do? The problem of Ireland is not only a problem for England; it is a problem for Ireland, and as Lloyd George told them a little over a year ago, "you can have a settlement in Ireland, self-government or anything, if you will only agree among yourselves." Every fair-minded Englishman feels that. We have been wrong in the past, we have made blunders and missed opportunities; but that is where we stand to-day. We want to help the Irish people to solve their own problem, and I believe we are approaching the day when it will be done. I have no patience with those Englishmen whose point of view was well expressed in a joke column, that the only thing to do is to put into the Treaty of Peace at any rate one provision, that Ireland shall be handed over to the Kaiser and his colleagues, so that the Irish may realize what it really was to be a subject people. That kind of joke expresses something of the English political despair. But we have nothing to do with political despair, British or otherwise. This war is waged for the establishment of great principles of justice, for the fulfilment of the democratic ideal, and the establishment of permanent peace among mankind; and we will do this with regard to Ireland, if circumstances permit the will of the English people to establish itself.





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